MAY 26, 2014

Nigeria's Stolen Girls / Botched Executions / Plus: My Kid Hates *Frozen* by Joel Stein

TIME

THE CRISIS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

BY ELIZA GRAY

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Photo-illustration by Kevin Van Aelst for TIME

These uniforms from a school in Chibok, Nigeria, belong to girls abducted by Boko Haram on April 14. Photograph by Glenna Gordon for TIME

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GEITHNER: ERIK TANNER FOR TIME

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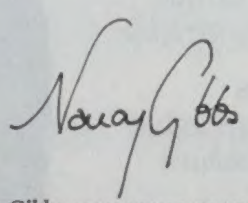
Editor's Desk

Patterns of Assault

ELIZA GRAY WAS WELL INTO REPORTing our cover package about the problem of sexual assaults on U.S. campuses when another story of sexual violence began to spread, first in the form of local alarms but eventually as a global siren of horror and outrage. The kidnapping of 276 Nigerian schoolgirls by Islamic terrorists, who threatened to sell them as sex slaves, was the most theatrical commission of a crime that occurs every day. Belinda Luscombe's story explores the roots and growth of sex trafficking and modern slavery, which by some estimates now affects 21 million people worldwide. The attack in Nigeria by Boko Haram (whose name roughly means "Western education is forbidden") was one more reminder of the mortal risks that girls in some countries can face when they set off on the road to freedom that an education represents.

AGAINST THAT BACKDROP, THE CHALLENGE FACING American colleges trying to deal with sexual violence can seem to be an almost academic debate over definitions and discipline. How do you balance the rights of victims and the accused, or understand the forces that lead to sexual violence, when universities themselves are often reluctant to investigate the scope of the problem? But a culture of denial yields its own mythologies, and while there can be debate over the nature of consent, the role of alcohol and the proper balance of crime and punishment, that does not mean there are no specific steps universities can take to make their campuses safer for both women and men. Gray, whose last cover story explored the hazards of synthetic pot, is passionate about stories that expose misconceptions, and she reports them relentlessly to puncture the myths.

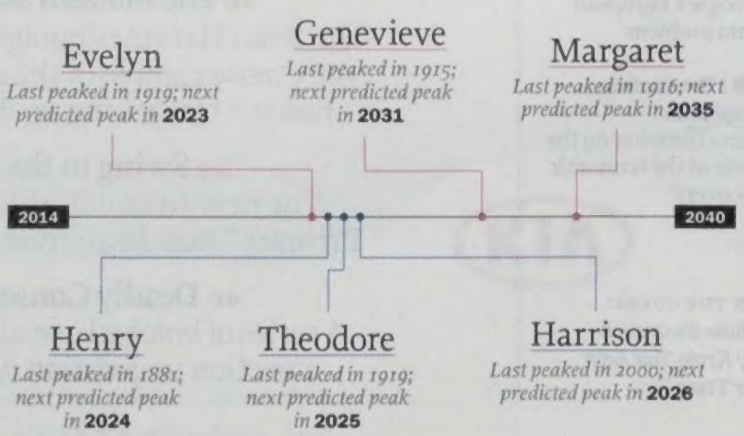


Nancy Gibbs, MANAGING EDITOR

NOW ON LIGHTBOX
In 1994, 25-year-old Alexander Chekmenev got a simple assignment: to take passport photos of citizens of Luhansk, in newly independent Ukraine. But Chekmenev, a Luhansk native, took the opportunity to expose in stark detail the squalor the former Soviet Union had tried to keep under wraps, especially in the homes of poor, elderly residents *(left)*. His "Passport" series repudiated communism and won a top European documentary-photography prize. To see more, visit lightbox.time.com.

NOW ON TIME.COM

How popular will your name—or your child's name—be in 25 years? In order to find out, TIME's Chris Wilson analyzed the **popularity patterns of hundreds of names throughout history.** Below are a few of his predictions. Plug in your name at time.com/babynames.



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LIGHTBOX: ALEXANDER CHEKMENEV (2)

WHAT'S HIDING IN YOUR HOUSE?

There's a world of history hidden in your home and **Kevin O'Connor** is on a mission to reveal it.

THUR MAY 22 ■ 9E/10P

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THE WEEK
BOKO HARAM ESCALATED ITS THREATS

Briefing

€3 million

Amount France will spend in order to save an endangered hamster species

'She is 100%. Period.'

NICK MERRILL, spokesman for Hillary Clinton, dismissing remarks by Karl Rove questioning whether the 2016 presidential front runner suffered a brain injury in 2012

Lockheed Martin
Signed a contract to help build U.S. presidential helicopters

GOOD WEEK

BAD WEEK

Ford
Recalled 700,000 cars because of issues with air bags and door handles

'You will not see them again until you release our brothers.'

ABUBAKAR SHEKAU, leader of the Boko Haram terrorist group, in a video demanding the release of prisoners in exchange for the nearly 300 Nigerian girls it kidnapped

$3.2 billion

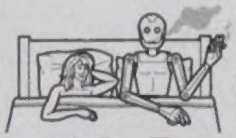
Amount Apple is reportedly planning to spend to acquire Beats Electronics, famous for its sleek headphones

'North Korea isn't a real country, is it?'

KIM MIN-SEOK, spokesman for the South Korean Ministry of Defense, blasting officials in Pyongyang for making sexist comments about South Korean President Park Geun-hye

'I am going to give everything I've got to the St. Louis Rams.'

MICHAEL SAM, after becoming the first openly gay athlete to get drafted by the National Football League; his jersey quickly became a top seller among rookies



1 in 5

Ratio of people who would have sex with a robot, according to a U.K. study

'What an honor it was to see my groundbreaking career in journalism be reduced to a cartoon character with a ridiculous voice.'

BARBARA WALTERS, appearing on *SNL* to lampoon the show's long-running "Baba Wawa" impressions

CLINTON, BEATS, WALTERS, SAM: AP; BOKO HARAM: REUTERS; ILLUSTRATION BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME (2)

Sources: ESPN; *SNL*; Reuters; Washington *Post*; Politico

LightBox

Battle of East Ukraine

On May 11, on the steps of the town hall in Krasnoarmeysk, Ukraine, a man falls backward after being struck in the face with a rifle butt by a member of the Ukrainian national guard. Guardsmen were blocking voters from entering the hall, a polling place for an unauthorized referendum on self-rule in eastern Ukraine. Soon after, guardsmen shot dead two unarmed civilians—including the man in the blue tank top.

Photograph by Jerome Sessini—Magnum

FOR PICTURES OF THE WEEK, GO TO **lightbox.time.com**

World

Rebel Vote Fuels Uncertainty in Eastern Ukraine

Separatist militants in two regions of eastern Ukraine declared their right to split from the central government in Kiev after a hastily organized plebiscite on May 11. Though there were no clear voting rules or professional observers at the ballot, its pro-Russian organizers claimed a turnout of more than 80%, with some 90% voting in favor of "self-determination."

Kiev tried hard to stop the vote from proceeding, even sending military units to block polling stations by force, leading to the deaths of at least two unarmed civilians during clashes in the town of Krasnoarmeysk. But the condemnations from Kiev and from Ukraine's allies in the U.S. and Europe did not stop the separatists from celebrating victory. If their legitimacy had previously derived only from the barrel of a gun, they can now point to a referendum of sorts in making their claim for independence.

That brings them one step closer to their ultimate goal of creating a new sovereign entity on the map, one that they hope Russia will agree to annex into its territory as it did with Ukraine's Crimea region in March. So far, Russia has said it "respects" the votes as an expression of the public's will, but President Vladimir Putin has avoided commenting at length. With armed separatists still in control of government buildings and even entire towns in the regions of Donetsk and Luhansk, there seems to be little that Western sanctions and condemnations can do to stop these regions from drifting further from Kiev's control.

The next potential flash point is Ukraine's presidential election, planned for May 25, the first since the country's pro-Russian leader Viktor Yanukovych was ousted earlier this year. The interim administration in Kiev and its Western backers are hoping the vote bolsters the legitimacy of the post-Yanukovych order. But the ongoing unrest in the east may yet undermine the planned ballot.

Residents attend a celebration in the city of Luhansk to mark the rebel vote for self-rule

DENMARK

'I'm just a singer in a fabulous dress, with great hair and a beard.'

CONCHITA WURST, the alter ego of Austrian singer Tom Neuwirth, before winning the Eurovision song contest—an annual competition featuring pop-music acts from in and around Europe—in Copenhagen on May 10

DATA

ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION

A new World Health Organization report shows that 3.3 million people die each year from alcohol use. Here's a look at annual alcohol intake around the world in liters per person over age 14:

15.1
Russia

12.2
Australia

11
South Africa

9.2
U.S.

6.7
China

Three Essential Facts About Syria's Presidential "Election"

Syria is preparing to hold a presidential election on June 3, an exercise meant to bolster dictator Bashar Assad as the brutal civil war inside the Middle Eastern nation rages on.

A NATION IN CHAOS With millions displaced by the ongoing conflict, the government's decision to hold elections has been criticized both by Western countries and by the Arab League, which said the conditions on the ground meant that the poll could not be "fair, democratic and credible."

NO SURPRISES Assad won the previous "election" in 2007 uncontested and declared that 98% of voters had chosen him to lead the country. This time, in a token effort at credibility, the regime has allowed two little-known lawmakers, Maher Abdul-Hafiz Hajjar and Hassan bin Abdullah al-Nouri, to appear on the ballot. But the results are expected to show a victory for Assad.

OBSTRUCTION TO PEACE Both the Arab League and the U.N. have said the elections will hamper efforts to find a political solution to the Syrian crisis. Syria's decision to go ahead with them was reported to be a factor behind the May 13 resignation of Lakhdar Brahimi, the U.N.–Arab League envoy for Syria.

UKRAINE, REUNIONS, SWITZERLAND, KILLER ROBOTS (CENTER): GETTY IMAGES; SYRIA, DEMOCRACY, KILLER ROBOTS (LEFT), KILLER ROBOTS (RIGHT): AP; RESEARCH: AIVL, WOODS HOLE OCEANOGRAPHIC INSTITUTION; DENMARK: ZUMA PRESS

Tragedy Underground

TURKEY A man kisses his son, who was rescued from a coal mine in western Turkey after an explosion and fire that resulted in the deaths of at least 240 people on May 13. More than 100 people were still believed to be trapped underground a day later, in one of the country's worst industrial disasters. Protests erupted across the nation after the calamity, which highlighted Turkey's poor record on workplace safety. *Photograph by Bulent Kilic—AFP/Getty Images*

The Explainer

The Prospect of "Killer Robots"

Diplomats met in Geneva on May 13 for the first multilateral U.N. talks on the risks of creating fully autonomous weapons that could kill without human input, days after Human Rights Watch said such "killer robots" would threaten fundamental rights.

Origin story

Over the past few years, the U.S., the U.K. and South Korea have developed drones with technology that could be repurposed to create machines with the ability to open fire without human input.

Early backlash

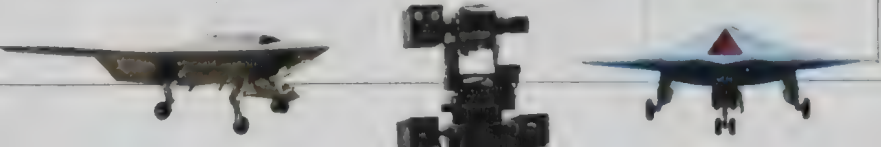
In 2013 opposition groups formed the Campaign to Stop Killer Robots to push for a ban on further developing or deploying the technology, a move that's drawn support from Archbishop Desmond Tutu, among others.

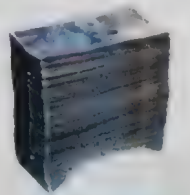
The defense

Proponents of such technology say a research ban is premature, because the weaponry could one day be more discerning than humans in the high-stress environment of the battlefield, reducing collateral damage.

Future plans

Opponents hope the U.N. will issue a ban by 2016, but it may take years more to materialize. A similar pre-emptive ban on blinding lasers, proposed to the U.N. in 1987, was issued only in 1995 and went into effect three years later.





SWITZERLAND

22

Minimum hourly wage, in Swiss francs—$25—proposed in a national referendum to be held on May 18; if approved, it will be the world's highest

Trending In

DEMOCRACY
Some 550 million people voted in India's general elections, with a record turnout of over 66%; results are due May 16

REUNIONS
A cat was returned to its owner in Japan's Iwate prefecture more than three years after the pet disappeared during the 2011 tsunami

RESEARCH
Nereus, a deep-sea submersible, is believed to have imploded on a scientific mission 6.2 miles underwater near New Zealand

SPORTS
A worker died in an accident at a stadium in Brazil—the eighth death connected to preparations for the World Cup

By Cleo Brock Abraham, Noah Rayman and Simon Shuster

Nation

Cap. Gown. Correctness? Thought police lead prominent voices to skip a rite of spring

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

THESE ARE SALAD DAYS FOR ORGANIZERS of petition drives. Never has it been so easy to circulate demands and collect virtual signatures. Not long ago, ardent activists clutched clipboards outside grocery stores or student unions as apathetic passers-by pretended not to notice them. But social media streamlines the search for the like-minded—a fact the White House discovered recently when more than 270,000 people joined a demand that misbehaving pop star Justin Bieber be deported to his native Canada.

It follows that these are glum times for college presidents. Zealous students at such institutions as Brandeis University, Smith College and Rutgers University have leveraged social media to drive away invited graduation-day speakers. They make it look so easy that students elsewhere will surely be tempted to join in the fun.

So far, the young thought police have used their powers to enforce left-wing purity, amid signs that today's students have moved beyond identity politics to new orthodoxies. Trustees at Smith, an all-women's college, probably thought they would be inspiring their students by inviting Christine Lagarde of France, the first woman to head the International Monetary Fund. Hardly. Lagarde bowed out on May 12 after a barrage of complaints about the IMF's "imperialistic" lending policies (as one petition signer put it).

Earlier this spring, Brandeis rescinded an offer of an honorary degree to the provocative writer Ayaan Hirsi Ali, whose criticism of Islam for antifeminist tendencies was dubbed "hate speech" by petitioners. Former U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice backed out of the Rutgers commencement ceremony after students denounced her as a "war criminal" for her role in the Bush Administration's war on terror.

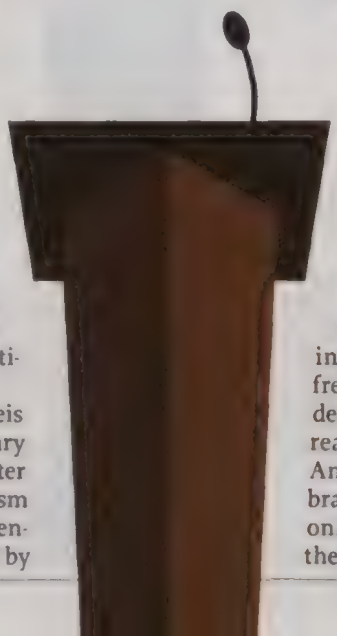
MUFFLED Social-media campaigns successfully targeted Hirsi Ali, Lagarde and Rice

At Haverford College, students demanded an abject apology before an honorary degree could be granted to Robert Birgeneau, the recently retired chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley, and a champion of access to higher education for undocumented immigrants. Birgeneau's offense was that he presided over Berkeley in 2011, when campus police used rough tactics with students who were protesting state budget cuts. Rather than grovel, Birgeneau withdrew.

Fish swim, birds fly, students protest. Anyone who has been 20 years old surely recalls the fierce clarity of a college student's mind. The sharp steel of a whetted education, undulled by the nicks and scrapes of experience, makes for the sort of slashing brilliance that breeds innovators and artists—and revolutionaries. But they are better at challenging values than maintaining them.

As Smith's president, Kathleen McCartney, put in when announcing Lagarde's withdrawal, the protesters got what they wanted, "but at what cost to Smith College?"

If America's treasured institutions of higher learning are to remain bastions of free speech and arenas of robust debate, there must be grownups ready to defend those ideals. And those grownups had better brace themselves for their own online denunciations, because the times, they are a-changin'.



The Rundown

COAL MINING Two workers were killed on May 12 in an accident at a mine with a history of safety issues in Boone County, **West Virginia.** In October, federal regulators said the operation—Brody Mine No. 1, run by St. Louis–based Patriot Coal—had a history of "significant and substantial" health and safety violations. The deaths brought the annual total of U.S. mining fatalities to five.

GAY MARRIAGE Five couples filed suit on May 12 to overturn **Alaska**'s 1998 amendment banning same-sex marriage, leaving North Dakota and Montana as the only states with bans that have not been challenged in court. One day later, a federal judge struck down **Idaho**'s law against gay marriage, the latest in a wave of decisions overturning state bans on the practice.

POLITICS Former *American Idol* star Clay Aiken won the Democratic nomination for a **North Carolina** seat in Congress after Keith Crisco, his 71-year-old primary opponent, died on May 12 following a fall at his home. The singer will take on GOP incumbent Renee Ellmers in November.

FOLLOW-UP BEES Honeybee deaths declined this winter, according to an annual survey by USDA researchers. As TIME reported in a 2013 cover story, honeybees—which annually add $15 billion in value to crops through pollination—have suffered in recent years for a number of reasons, including pests, habitat loss and pesticides.

HIRSI ALI: REDUX. RICE, LAGARDE: GETTY IMAGES

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Spotlight

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Western Union In Utah, a booming region works to curb its reliance on the automobile

BY JOSH SANBURN/SALT LAKE CITY

TRICIA SALDANHA LIVES IN DOWNTOWN Salt Lake City and often takes TRAX—the city's light-rail line—to go shopping or run errands. It's easier to hop on and off than to drive, and parking tickets aren't a concern. But when Saldanha, 26, visits family in Provo, about 45 miles south, she bypasses the commuter-rail link between the two cities and takes her car. "I've done the calculations, and it's still cheaper to drive," she says.

Convincing Saldanha and other Utah urbanites otherwise is the job of Robin Hutcheson, Salt Lake's head of transportation, who as you might expect often uses public transit to get to work. "We've got to change the mind-set here," Hutcheson says as we wait to catch the 209 bus on a recent weekday morning. That change looks daunting: cars have been the main way to get around Salt Lake and the Wasatch Front region since they replaced the horse and buggy. Fifteen years ago, no commuter rail linked Salt Lake with nearby Ogden or Provo. Light rail didn't connect the growing neighborhoods within those cities. In 2007, Salt Lake's bike-lane budget was $50,000.

The city's come a long way since. About 1.2 million people live in the Salt Lake metropolitan area, 190,000 in the city core, and the population is expected to double by 2050, according to demographers. Figuring out how to get those residents to and from work without the highway gridlock typical of Western cities led civic leaders to embrace commuting alternatives normally found in cities 10 times larger.

Consider: That paltry bike budget has grown to $2 million as Salt Lake added a popular bike-share program. Four heavily trafficked streets have recently been redesigned with separate lanes for bikes and pedestrians, with two more coming this summer. Light rail and commuter rail, meanwhile, are booming. Since 2008, the state has laid 70 miles of track—under budget and two years ahead of schedule. TRAX ridership increased 7% last year, to more than 50,000 a day. The city is counting on a new pass that lets people ride any of the region's light-rail, commuter-rail or streetcar lines for $30 a month to bolster the trend.

ONE FITS ALL
The Hive Pass lets city residents ride three forms of public transit for one fee

Salt Lake is well positioned to reboot its transit infrastructure, thanks in part to a historical relic: its streets are almost comically broad—132 ft. wide—and a typical block has an area of 10 acres. The vast tracts were part of a system designed by Joseph Smith called the Mormon Grid that allowed early residents to easily turn oxcarts, according to local legend. Planners have come to see these wide boulevards, once considered too treacherous for walkers and cyclists, as an asset because of how easily they can be redesigned for multiple forms of transportation.

The best example of the reimagined, multiuse boulevard is North Temple Street, connecting downtown to the airport. The main arterial, previously seven lanes, is now four. Light rail runs down the middle, bordered by traffic lanes and designated bike and pedestrian paths with illuminated signals warning cars to yield.

While city officials still expect growth in the suburbs, thanks to Utah's high concentration of space-needy large families, they're also seeing more people in their 20s and 30s as well as retirees moving to the city core. Says Salt Lake City Mayor Ralph Becker: "This is still very much a motorist-driven culture, but it's changing, particularly with the millennial generation."

Nearly 80% of Utah's population lives along the Wasatch Front, a 120-mile corridor from Ogden in the north to Provo in the south. The region now has 140 miles of commuter rail, with five lines added since December 2012. The hope is that expanded transit will concentrate growth in downtowns, keeping suburban sprawl from encroaching on the state's prized rural and mountain areas. Some things, after all, are worth the drive.

"I don't believe we need to get everyone out of their car," Hutcheson says. "But we need to prepare for the sorts of shifts we're seeing, so we're being very aggressive. We have the funding, and we have a supportive mayor. Now's the time."

RICK BOWMER—AP

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siemens.com/answers

Health

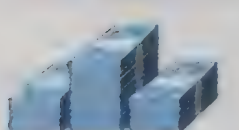
This Is America on Drugs We're more reliant than ever on prescription meds. Should we worry?

BY ALICE PARK

IF YOU LET THE NUMBERS TELL THE STORY, THE U.S. PRACTICALLY RUNS ON PROZAC AND HEART pills. They're among the most prescribed medications, according to our national annual checkup from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), which this year included a special report highlighting the ever growing use of prescription drugs. It used to be that doctor-issued scripts were enlisted to battle bacteria and viruses, but they're increasingly being used in our fight against chronic modern ills, from heart disease and depression to HIV and ADHD. Today, 50% of Americans take at least one pill a day, and many of those drugs can be lifesaving (or at least life-enhancing). But the report also pointed to a troubling uptick in the use and abuse of opioid painkillers, which can lead to addiction and, in the extreme, death from overdose. Here's a by-the-numbers look at the good, bad and concerning ways Americans rely on drugs.

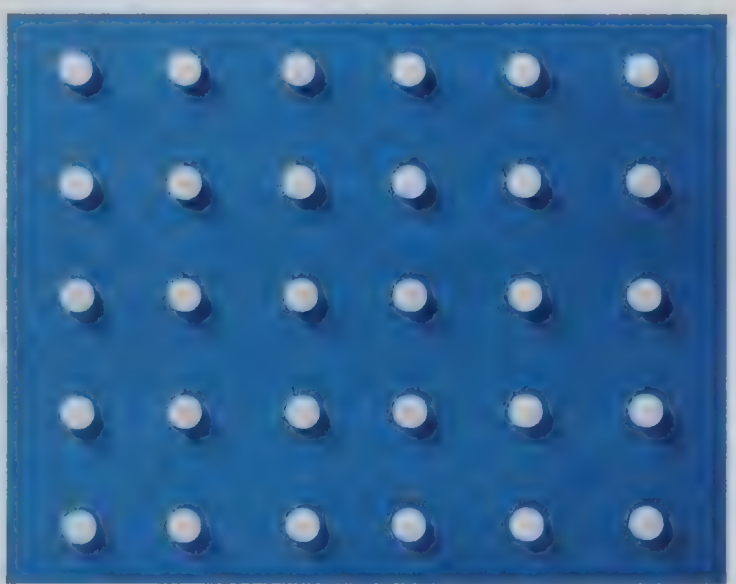
PERCENTAGE OF AMERICANS AGES 18 TO 64 ON ...

1. HEART DRUGS (ACE INHIBITORS, BETA BLOCKERS, ETC.) **17.7%**
2. CHOLESTEROL-LOWERING DRUGS **10.7%**
3. ANTIDEPRESSANTS **10.6%**
4. PAINKILLERS (OPIOIDS, ETC.) **10.5%**
5. ACID-REFLUX MEDS **9%**



$263 BILLION

U.S. spending on prescription drugs



THE GOOD

Vaccines work; only 2% of U.S. deaths are caused by pneumonia and influenza

80%

The reduction in deaths from HIV since 1996, thanks to effective antiretrovirals

THE BAD

300%

The increase in use of prescription painkillers over the past decade; opioid-overdose deaths have tripled

The percentage of Americans under 18 who are prescribed ADHD drugs has grown dramatically since 1994

THE CONCERNING

Five percent of insured Americans—and 22% of the uninsured—failed to fill a prescription because they couldn't afford it

10%

The percentage of Americans who take five or more drugs daily; 50% take at least one

Sources: CDC report *Health, United States, 2013; Fertility and Sterility; New England Journal of Medicine; Neurology*

The Checkup

HEALTH NEWS EXAMINED

Headline says: "Possible 'Obesity Gene' Discovered"

Science says: Researchers have ID'd a rare mutation that spurs the growth of fat cells and spikes blood sugar. It could lead to the group of symptoms known as metabolic syndrome (obesity, hypertension and Type 2 diabetes)—but few people carry the mutation. DNA isn't always to blame.

Not so much

Headline says: "Paint Fumes Cause Permanent Brain Damage"

Science says: Solvents have been linked to memory problems 30 years after exposure in people whose jobs require working with the chemicals. For the average joe, the risk is unclear, so when you redo the living room, protect yourself.

Careful!

Headline says: "Red Wine Is Full of Antioxidants"

Science says: The skin of red grapes contains resveratrol, a powerful polyphenol that has been shown in labs and animals to fight cell aging. But researchers in—where else?—Chianti found that drinking wine did not alone reduce the risk of cancer, heart disease or early death.

Put a cork in it

PILLS: ALAMY; SPRAY CAN: GETTY IMAGES

Milestones

Lepage, seen here in November 2013, was 26 at the time of her death

DIED

Camille Lepage
Devoted photojournalist

Many are the journalists who dream about reporting on the world's deadliest scenes of strife. Few are the ones who actually do it. Even fewer are those who do it well. Camille Lepage, a young photographer from France who was educated in the U.K. but whose work took her far from Europe, was among the latter.

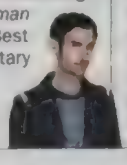
Last fall, Lepage ventured into the Central African Republic, where a coup staged by mainly Muslim rebels had crumpled the state and prompted largely Christian militias to retaliate with fury. She spent her time photographing the fighters and also those most affected by the turmoil, while learning all she could about its roots. William Daniels, a photographer who worked with her there, recalls that locals respected her commitment and professionalism. "She was very active, very patient, very passionate about this work," he says. "Very brave."

On May 13 the office of French President François Hollande issued a statement confirming Lepage's death, which it described as murder. French peacekeeping troops had discovered her body after they stopped a car driven by *antibalaka* militiamen. On a recent trip to New York City, Lepage admitted to fears about the conflict she was covering but said that when she returned she wouldn't be seeking out scenes of violence. Instead she wanted, in a way typical of her, to find the humanity in that bleak situation. The pictures she made in her brief life will define how she will be remembered, but the pictures she was going to take will help form her legacy. —ANDREW KATZ

APPOINTED
As the executive editor of the New York *Times*, **Dean Baquet**, 57, following the unexpected departure of Jill Abramson. Baquet will be the first African American to hold the position.

DIED
Patrick J. Lucey, 96, two-term Democratic Wisconsin governor. Named U.S. ambassador to Mexico by Jimmy Carter in 1977, Lucey ran for Vice President in 1980 on John B. Anderson's Independent ticket.

DIED
Malik Bendjelloul, 36, Swedish filmmaker whose 2012 film *Searching for Sugarman* won the Best Documentary Oscar.



DIED
Bill H. Dana, 83, test pilot who was one of 12 chosen by NASA in 1959 to fly the X-15 rocket plane. In 16 flights from 1965 to 1968, he reached speeds of 4,000 m.p.h. and altitudes of 300,000 ft.

DIED
Farley Mowat, 92, Canadian writer and environmentalist best known for his 1963 book *Never Cry Wolf*, a sympathetic look at Arctic wolves, which he had studied as a biologist in northern Manitoba.

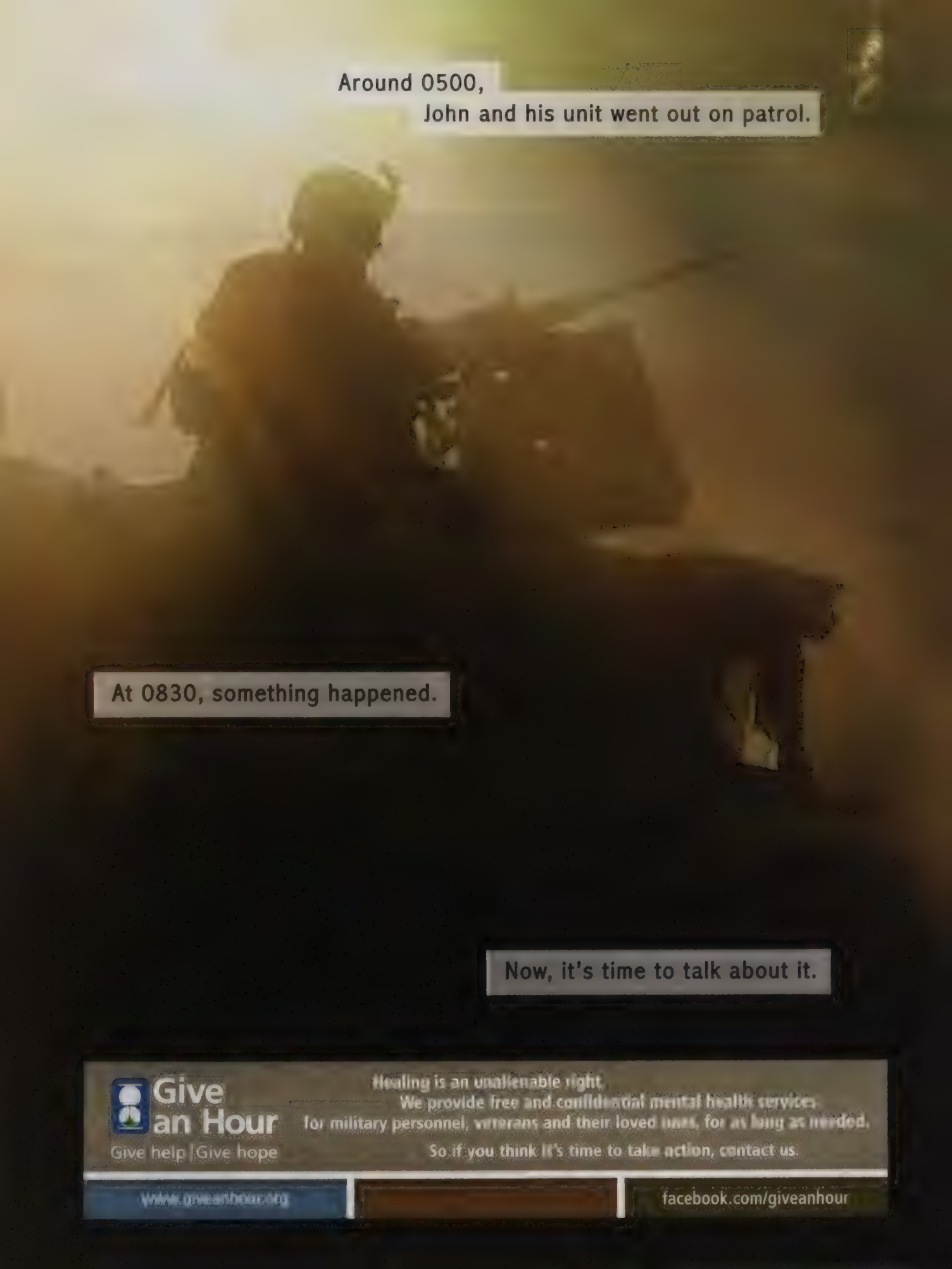
DIED

H.R. Giger
Monster master

Hans Rudolph Giger, the Swiss artist who died May 12 at 74, created only one movie monster, the ferocious beast in Ridley Scott's 1979 *Alien*, but that creature inspired many an otherworldly beast over the next decades, including the giant M.U.T.O. in the new *Godzilla* remake. In its gestation from the angry gelatinous fetus that burst from John Hurt's stomach to the sleek black killer with multiple rows of teeth, the *Alien* alien provided film history with one of its most memorable, majestic designs. At every stage it was the spawn of Giger's felicitously warped imagination.

A comically menacing figure—he looked like a blond Peter Lorre baby fed too much candy—Giger specialized in biomechanical art, a mashup of machine and anatomical forms. Blending Salvador Dalí and H.P. Lovecraft, his art adorned rock-album covers, video games and countless tattooed torsos. A job on nutso-genius director Alejandro Jodorowsky's aborted adaptation of Frank Herbert's *Dune* introduced him to Dan O'Bannon, the main screenwriter for *Alien*, and that movie secured Giger a prominent, permanent niche in the world's nightmares.
—RICHARD CORLISS

LEPAGE: WILLIAM DANIELS—PANOS; GIGER: MARTIN RUETSCHI—KEYSTONE/REDUX; BENDJELLOUL: GETTY IMAGES


Around 0500,
John and his unit went out on patrol.
At 0830, something happened.
Now, it's time to talk about it.
Give an Hour
Give help | Give hope
Healing is an unalienable right.
We provide free and confidential mental health services
for military personnel, veterans and their loved ones, for as long as needed.
So if you think it's time to take action, contact us.
www.giveanhour.org
facebook.com/giveanhour

Lev Grossman

You Have the Right to Be Forgotten

A European court has upheld an increasingly precious principle

ON MARCH 5, 2010, A LAWYER NAMED Mario Costeja González lodged a complaint with the Spanish Data Protection Agency against a newspaper called *La Vanguardia*. Twelve years earlier, González's house had been auctioned off to pay his social security debts, and *La Vanguardia* ran a brief article about it. The article was factually accurate, but González felt it was no longer relevant to his life. He wasn't happy that it came up when you Googled him either, so he added Google to the complaint for good measure.

The Spanish Data Protection Agency dismissed the complaint against *La Vanguardia* but—astoundingly—it supported the complaint against Google and asked it to remove the article from its search results. An understandably incredulous Google took the issue to Spain's National High Court, which turned for advice to the highest legal authority in the European Union, the Court of Justice in Luxembourg. On May 13, contrary to the expectations of Google and virtually everybody else except maybe González, the Court of Justice affirmed the original decision, concluding that a person should be able to demand that a search engine remove links "on the ground that that information may be prejudicial to him or that he wishes it to be 'forgotten' after a certain time." In doing so, the court endorsed a relatively new addition to the catalog of human rights: it's being called the right to be forgotten.

Make no mistake, this is a watershed moment in human history: mankind, after spending untold millennia looking for ways to be remembered by posterity, must now beg to be forgotten instead. It puts one in mind of the Cumaean Sibyl, who, after being granted a lifespan of a thousand years by Apollo, longed only to die. To the list of things that our ancestors would have found utterly unintelligible about the way we live now we can add, right next to the epidemic of obesity, its informational equivalent: an epidemic of memory.

APART FROM THE EUROVISION SONG CONTEST, it's hard to think of anything more quintessentially European than the Court of Justice's ruling. It wouldn't, and won't ever, happen in the U.S., where the First Amendment is holy writ and, as such, tends to outweigh the right to privacy and people's feelings about their embarrassing real estate auctions. Moreover, we Americans are more apt than Europeans to bow in fear and awe before the aura of entitlement that emanates from Silicon Valley. The idea of allowing a mere private citizen to violate the integrity of Google's sacred cache is more or less unthinkable.

NEW WORLD ORDER

Google

220

The number of complaints by individuals in Spain dissatisfied with Google search results associated with their names

371,000,000

Number of Internet users in the E.U. who could potentially be affected by the court's ruling

Not surprisingly, the ruling hasn't been universally popular. Google issued a statement calling it "disappointing." The New York *Times* editorial board came out against it on the grounds that it "could undermine press freedoms and free speech." Index on Censorship, an international organization promoting freedom of expression, was blunter: "This is akin to marching into a library and forcing it to pulp books." (It's not, actually: no one's pulping the original data, just the links to them.)

It's an open question whether the Court of Justice's ruling can even be enforced. The prospect of deciding, case by case, what is or isn't relevant and to whom is daunting, expensive and philosophically fraught. If a politician has a sketchy past, can he or she get links to it taken down? Or is the right to be forgotten outweighed by the public's need to be informed? And the court's ruling doesn't just affect Google; it applies to all search engines, and who knows who else. Facebook, the archive of humanity's collective embarrassing past, should be concerned.

WHETHER OR NOT ITS RULING IS ENFORCEable, the Court of Justice has hit upon an elusive truth about the way we live now, one that's probably easier to see from Luxembourg than it is from Mountain View. Public information isn't just public: the meaning of *public* has changed. Just as we're altering the physical climate we live in, we've changed our information environment too. Information used to propagate slowly, pooling and collecting in some places but not others. Now it propagates instantly and evenly, everywhere at once. The past is supposed to fade and blur, but the Internet keeps our entire lives relentlessly in focus, for everyone, forever.

The Court of Justice has reminded us that we don't necessarily have to accommodate ourselves to technology; we can demand that technology adapt itself to us. Just because something is technologically feasible, and part of a business plan, doesn't mean it's a good thing. In a way it's too late for González: no one's ever going to forget about that real estate auction now. Nevertheless his point stands: the past isn't what it used to be. But maybe it should be. ■

GOOGLE: GOOGLE; GAVEL: GETTY IMAGES

Rana Foroohar

Job Growth Good; Labor Market Bad

What happens with workforce participation will determine how you experience the recovery

MIDWAY THROUGH THE YEAR, HOW is America's economic recovery really doing? It's complicated.

We've just gotten what in many ways appears to be a stellar jobs report. The U.S. economy created a whopping 288,000 jobs in April, and the unemployment rate fell to 6.3%, its lowest level since 2008. Unfortunately, it didn't fall just because tens of thousands of new jobs were created in construction and retail, for example. A bigger reason it fell is that fewer people are looking for work. In fact, the workforce-participation rate—the percentage of people who are actually in the labor market—dropped to its lowest level since 1978.

The question now is whether or not people who are shut out of the labor market for various reasons will be able to return to work as the recovery strengthens. Ultimately, the answer will determine how most Americans experience the next few years—how much it will cost you to buy a new car or home or what you will pay in student loans.

IT'S NOT HARD TO SEE WHY WORKFORCE PARticipation is such a hot topic. Over the past five years, the percentage of the population working in America has dropped to the levels of Europe as a whole. Typically in the U.S., about 15% of unemployed people are among the "long-term unemployed," meaning they've been out of a job for more than six months. After the Great Recession, that share reached 45%, and even today it's still 37%. The long-term unemployed suffer not just economically but also socially: they have higher rates of divorce, depression and suicide.

Will those people ever work again? Many experts say no, because research shows that employers often discriminate against the long-term unemployed and also their skills tend to atrophy. "More than ever before, skill erosion will be a major obstacle for those who wish to return to the workforce," declared a recent Conference Board report. And then there's another group: the baby boomers dropping out of the workforce who had likely planned to retire anyway but may have pushed the decision up by a few years because of gloomy work prospects. Historically, few such people ever return to the workforce once they leave.

So what does all this mean for the price of your mortgage or car loan? The amount of slack in the labor market is one of the key factors helping the Fed decide whether to raise interest rates. When markets are slack, or too many people who want work don't have it, wages and prices stay down. But if labor markets get tight, wages go up, and that causes inflation. When inflation starts to rise, so do interest rates.

GRADING THE RECOVERY

A

Job growth

Biggest gain in two years

C

Unemployment

Lowest level since 2008—but long-term joblessness is still too high

D

Labor participation

Lowest level since 1978

Fed Chair Janet Yellen says the economy is improving but still needs the Fed's support because of a high rate of long-term joblessness

But inflation is tricky. It moves fast and often unexpectedly, which means it's important for central bankers to try to anticipate it. That's why there are vigorous disagreements about what to make of these latest numbers. Economists who see the bulk of labor-market dropouts as a lost cause believe they don't really matter with respect to inflation. The short-term unemployment rate, which they believe is a better measure of the true slack in the labor market, is just a little more than 6%, right around where it ought to be historically. And important metrics, like the National Federation of Independent Business survey, show the labor market is as tight as it was in 2005. Whatever the unemployment rate, we may not have enough workers with the right skills. And a tighter labor market implies that inflation could come on sooner rather than later—and that rates could rise as early as 2015.

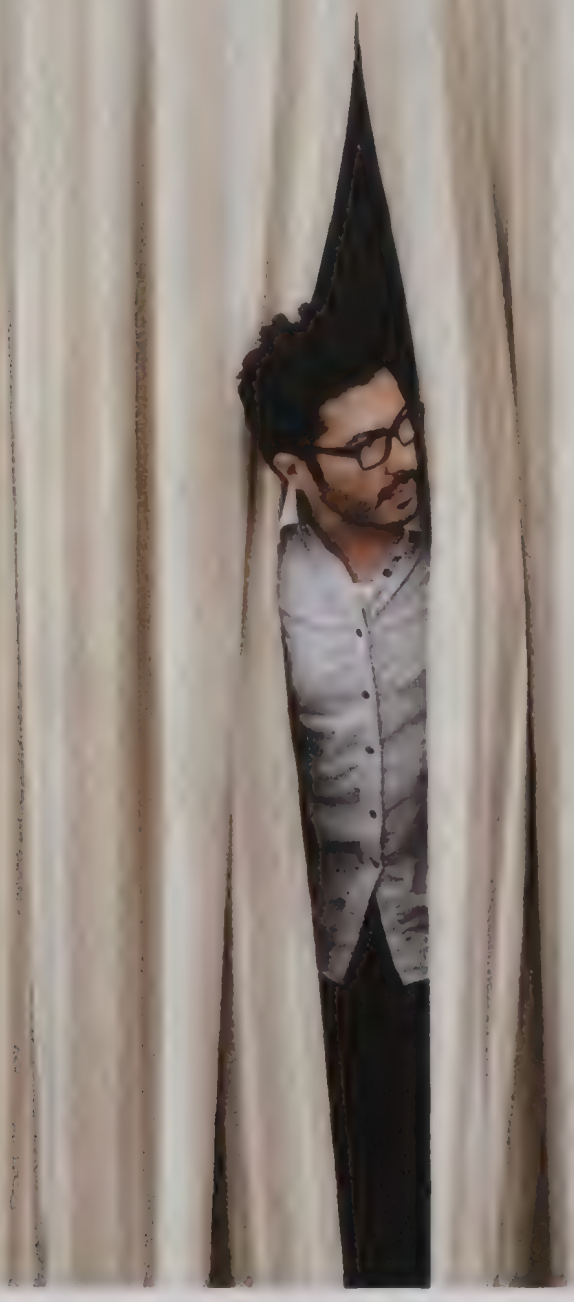
PLENTY OF PEOPLE IN THE FED BELIEVE THAT could and should happen, but chair Janet Yellen isn't one of them. Yellen recently said, "My own view is that a significant amount of the decline in [labor] participation during the recovery is due to slack, another sign that help from the Fed can still be effective." The data on her side include the recent disproportionate declines in the unemployment rate for lower-income workers. The idea is that companies are starting by hiring cheap labor and they'll eventually hire more workers higher up the pay scale. There's also the fact that right before the Great Recession, there was a nascent trend toward older workers staying in the workforce longer, in part because of better health and the desire to work but also perhaps out of necessity: the average retirement savings of Americans ages 55 to 64 is about $120,000, not enough to fund anyone's golden years.

If that's the case, we may see many of those longer-term unemployed people come back into the workforce, keeping inflation (and rates) lower for longer. In economics, three's a trend. The next two months of data will be crucial in understanding where labor markets, interest rates and the price of your debt are headed. ■

GETTY IMAGES

PULL BACK THE CURTAIN

ON YOUR PORTFOLIO.



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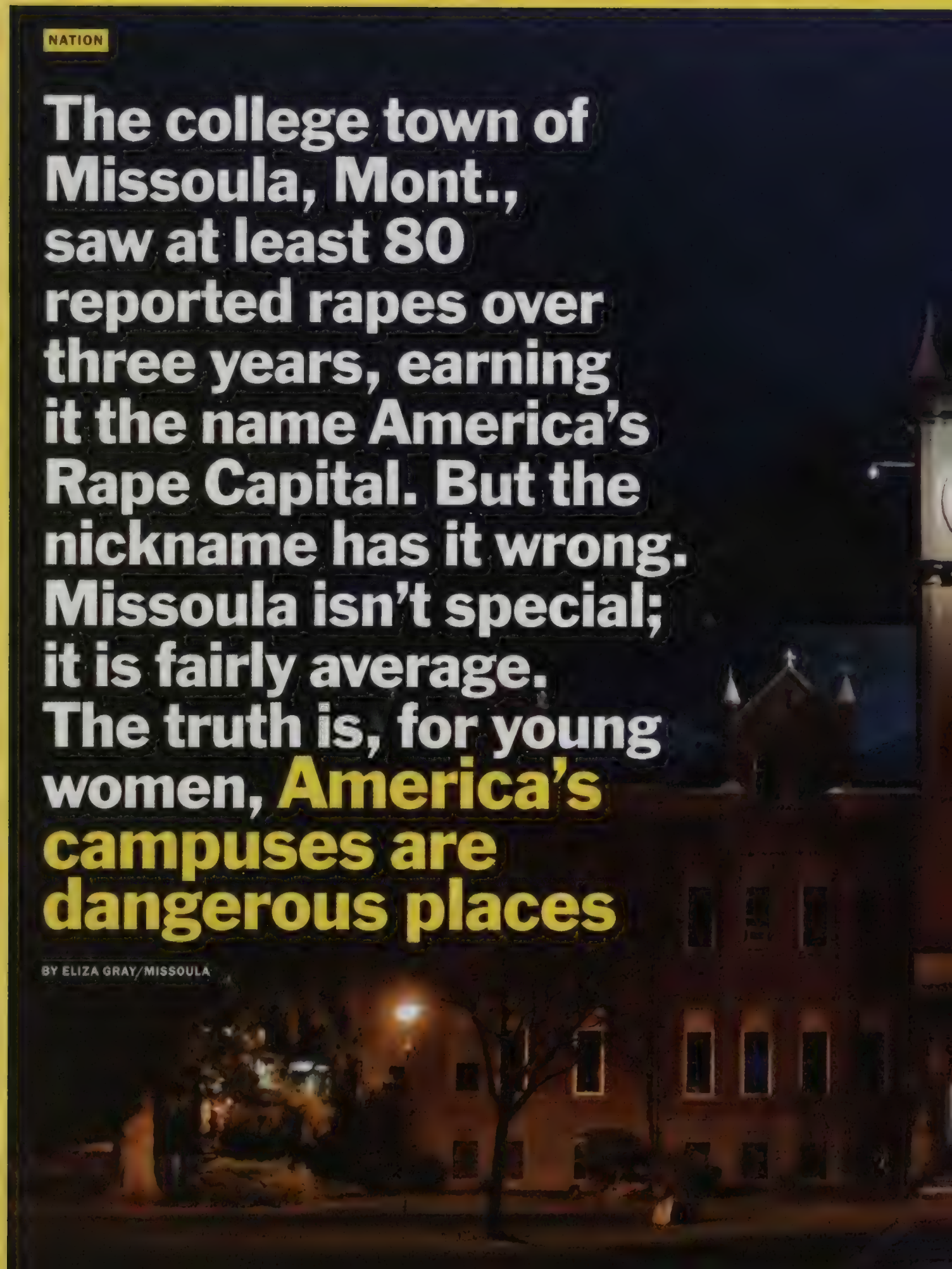
The college town of Missoula, Mont., saw at least 80 reported rapes over three years, earning it the name America's Rape Capital. But the nickname has it wrong. Missoula isn't special; it is fairly average. The truth is, for young women, America's campuses are dangerous places

BY ELIZA GRAY/MISSOULA



Under a spotlight *University Hall at the University of Montana in Missoula*

Photograph by John Francis Peters for TIME

Nestled at the base of a mountain in the northern Rockies,

the University of Montana in Missoula is one of the nation's most picturesque campuses and home to nearly 15,000 students. Since its founding in 1893, the school has produced 28 Rhodes scholars. Notable alumni include former Senator Mike Mansfield and *All in the Family* star Carroll O'Connor. The university's football team, the Grizzlies, has turned out a slew of NFL stars. It is, in short, the kind of place that makes its alumni cheer and serves as a symbol of pride throughout the state.

But something changed for Missoula on May 1, 2012, when Thomas Perez came to town. Perez, then the U.S. Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, stood before a press conference to announce a federal investigation into the university, city police and county attorney. "In order to learn, all students must feel safe and must feel supported," Perez told the gathering. There was a problem in Missoula: "In the past three years, there have been at least 80 reported rapes." Practically overnight, Missoula went from being the home of one of the nation's most respected public universities to a place where young women were victimized in horrible, violent attacks—or, as news coverage began describing it, "America's rape capital."

The nickname, however, has it wrong. Calling Missoula the rape capital is as misleading as it is ugly. The University of Montana isn't a bizarre sexual-assault outlier in higher education. Instead, it is fairly average. The truth is, for young women, particularly those who are 18 or 19 years old, just beginning their college experience, America's campuses are hazardous places. Recent research shows that 1 in 5 women is the victim of an attempted or completed sexual assault during college. "If you knew your son had a 20% chance of being held up at gunpoint, you'd think twice before dropping your kid off," says Vice President Joe Biden, who has made awareness about campus sexual assault a signature issue at the White House. "Well, my God, you drop a daughter off, it's 1 in 5 she could be raped or physically abused? It is just outrageous."

The numbers on campus rape and sexual assault are so disturbing that it can be tempting to look for a flaw, to assume they are inflated by some overly broad definition—misunderstandings or morning-after regrets. They aren't. It's true that the language can be confusing. The FBI now defines rape as "penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim." That reflects a revision by the Obama Administration in 2012. Earlier language referred to sex inflicted "forcibly and against her will." The newer "without the consent" language is meant to include victims who are incapacitated by alcohol or cannot otherwise give consent.

The broader term *sexual assault* used in the 1-in-5 statistic includes rape along with other forms of unwanted sexual contact, such as forced fondling or kissing—but more than half the assaults reported meet the strict definition of rape. Nearly three-quarters of those victims were incapacitated, underscoring the role of alcohol in campus assaults.

The 1-in-5 number shouldn't be taken to mean that young American men are a horde of violent rapists. The best research suggests that a large proportion of the worst offenses are committed by a relatively small group of students—sexual predators who find college an alarmingly auspicious environment both for targeting women and escaping punishment.

No campus is immune from concerns about sexual misconduct—a point driven home May 1 when the Obama Administration released a list of 55 colleges under federal scrutiny over how they handle sexual-assault complaints. The roster includes big public institutions like Ohio State along with Ivies Harvard and Princeton.

So rather than focus on Missoula as an outrageous oddity, it is more productive to see it as a starting point for fixing a shameful situation. Over the past two years, federal investigators have collaborated—and sometimes clashed—with school and local officials. Together, they have identified specific measures that students, colleges and local cops can take to head off assaults and make sure that when attacks do take place, the victims are properly treated. Some are as obvious as requiring school employees to report any crimes; others are as simple as arming young women—and young men—with clever tricks to derail the predators. If Missoula has been tarnished, unfairly or not, with the "rape capital" nickname, it may well be redeemed by its legacy as a test lab for helping answer the question, What will it take to make women safe at college?

Missoula's journey into the uncomfortable spotlight

began late in 2011, in the middle of finals, when the university announced the appointment of an outside investigator to look into whether two female students had been drugged and raped by members of the football team. Then another young woman told the local newspaper, the *Missoulian*, that several football players had raped her the year before. (No one was charged, though police said they informed the football coach.) A few weeks later, a running back for the Grizzlies was arrested for raping a woman who, according to the affidavit of probable cause, said she woke up "to find her pants and underwear pulled down" and the assailant having intercourse with her. He later pleaded guilty and is serving a 10-year sentence.

Call for help *Emergency phones like this one at Missoula can't address acquaintance rape*

The cases kept coming. In February an exchange student from Saudi Arabia fled the country before police could question him about two alleged sexual assaults on the same night; the dean of students had told him the school launched an investigation. Then in March, the Grizzlies' quarterback Jordan Johnson was suspended from the team after an accusation of rape; he was acquitted of criminal charges at trial. Yet another rape victim told the *Missoulian* she believed her report to the health center would result in an investigation. But the opposite is true, since health-center records are kept confidential. The outside investigation launched by university president Royce Engstrom concluded that there had been nine cases of sexual assault at Missoula from September 2010 to December 2011.

Missoula's pattern is typical. One of the most consistent truths is how few victims, especially college students, report these attacks. A recent study showed that only 12% of rapes of college women were reported to law enforcement. Another study showed that roughly a third of college sexual-assault victims said they reported their assault to a counselor affiliated with the university. High-profile incidents often increase awareness and motivate victims to come forward. So when college officials try to shine a light on the problem—as with Engstrom's decision to engage an outside investigator—the result can be a wave of allegations that makes a campus suddenly seem less safe. That's a nasty surprise for students, parents—and admissions offices.

But there should be no surprise, because the scope of the problem has been evident for three decades. It was in 1987 that Mary Koss, a psychology professor at Kent State, released a landmark study on sexual assault. Koss surveyed more than 3,000 women and 2,000 men on 32 college campuses. She found that 1 in 4 women had been the victim of an attempted or completed rape.

There was no way to reconcile that number with the stereotypical view of sexual attacks, in which a knife-wielding rapist jumps out from a dark corner. Most women, it became clear, knew their attackers, so the focus turned to so-called date rape. But much of that response centered on the idea of "No means no," which, while critical for raising awareness about consent, can sometimes reinforce its own stereotype. The very phrase *date rape* has a way of conjuring the image of two drunk teenagers fumbling around in the dark until a testosterone-fueled adolescent male goes too far, a moment spun out of control. As it turns out, experts say, many such moments don't happen by accident; the perpetrators often create the opportunity for the assault.

That piece of the puzzle began to fall into place in 2002, when a respected study of the male population at the University of Massachusetts concluded that only 6.4% of those college men reported committing acts in line with the legal definition of rape or attempted rape. Researchers didn't ask men outright if they had committed rape but instead asked questions about their sexual encounters.

A crucial finding: among the relatively small group of perpetrators, more than half were repeat offenders, averaging nearly six rapes each. Other studies of young men have reached similar conclusions. In

19%

of U.S. undergraduate women are victims of sexual assault while in college

SOURCE CAMPUS SEXUAL ASSAULT STUDY

JOHN FRANCIS PETERS FOR TIME

short, most guys are good guys. But the ones who are bad aren't just straying over a line. Instead, they show a pattern of violent sexual behavior.

To understand why a campus

can be a dangerous place for a young woman, it helps to watch something called the Frank video. It is a re-enactment of a conversation between a University of Massachusetts researcher and an actor portraying a study respondent. The conversation takes many familiar elements of campus life—the newfound freedom of incoming students, the fraternity scene, the binge drinking at private parties fueled by alcohol age limits in restaurants and bars—and casts them in a chilling light.

Here's what a young college woman is up against: "We'd be on the lookout for the good-looking girls, especially the freshmen," says the study participant. "They were easy prey, and they wouldn't know anything about drinking or how much alcohol they could handle, so you know they wouldn't know anything about our techniques." The young man goes on to explain those techniques: "We'd invite them to the party ... We'd get them drinking right away. We'd have kegs [of beer], but we always had some kind of punch also, you know, our own home brew. We'd make it with a real sweet juice and just pour in all kinds of alcohol." The man goes on to describe removing the woman's clothes. She tries pushing him off; he pushes her back down and uses his arm across her chest to pin her down while having intercourse.

College party culture takes particular advantage of young women who lack experience with alcohol—an idea that is entrenched on campuses and in popular culture. Back in 1978, before the spotlight was pointed on campus sexual assault, the film *Animal House* portrayed one of its toga-clad frat boys making out with a girl until she passes out. A devil appears on one shoulder encouraging him to have sex with the girl; an angel on the other shoulder urges him not to, and the good angel wins. More than three decades later,

New message *Posters at Missoula promote intervention to stop sexual assaults*

popular culture still accommodates the idea—with implications for both men and women—that it's O.K. for men to trick women into having sex, that reluctance is just a barrier to be overcome through perseverance and guile. It is a theme found everywhere from song lyrics to sitcoms.

Given the cultural tolerance and considering that so many assaults in college involve acquaintances or even boyfriends and girlfriends, perhaps it is no surprise that many women don't immediately understand what has happened to them. According to a 2007 study for the National Institute of Justice, roughly a third of victims surveyed who did not report their assault to law enforcement said it was because they were unsure whether what they had experienced was a crime and whether harm was intended.

The first big government push to address campus sexual assault came in 1990 when Congress passed the Clery Act. The law was named for Jeanne Clery, a freshman at Lehigh University who was raped and murdered in her dorm in 1986. The law requires colleges and universities to publish annual reports on security policies and campus crime statistics, including sex offenses. The act also specifies that schools must publish information about sexual-assault policies and programs. Critics say Clery has not been successful, partly due to loopholes. A 2009 investigation by the Center for Public Integrity found that 77% of two- and four-year colleges and universities reported an implausible zero rapes in 2006, due in part to tactics like miscoding acquaintance rape as "nonforcible" and excluding rapes at off-campus parties.

The Obama Administration has employed a more muscular approach. Most people know Title IX as the 1972 law that combats gender discrimination in college sports. The Administration has turned it into a weapon in the fight against rape. In April 2011, the Department of Education sent a letter to colleges and universities warning that a failure to adequately address sexual assault violated Title IX and put them at risk of losing federal funding. The warning—combined with the efforts of student activists willing to file Title IX complaints—rocked the academic world. It was clear that, sooner or later, a college would find itself in the federal crosshairs. That school turned out to be Montana.

Even for a university the size of Montana,

meeting the demands of the federal investigators was difficult. In October 2012 the university tapped federal grant money and hired Kim Brown Campbell, a local with experience in sexual-assault counseling, to coordinate its response. A year after the investigation began, the departments of Education and Justice reached a joint resolution with the university governing measures moving forward. By that point, however, changes were well under way. Working with the federal government, the university has overhauled nearly every aspect of its systems for handling sexual assault.

It started with the easy stuff, including a video tutorial about rape myths, school policies and resources on campus that students were required to watch before registering for spring-semester classes. The university also made it mandatory for all its employees, excluding counselors and medical professionals, to report any information they learn about a sexual assault to a Title IX coordinator. This ensures that all complaints go to one place and trigger an investigation by the Title IX office—an

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approach meant to guarantee that every claim will be investigated, no matter how seemingly trivial. (If a student is found responsible, the dean of students determines the sanctions.) Another new program, Don't Cancel That Class, invites professors to use free blocks of time to ask someone knowledgeable about sexual violence to teach the class.

And the reformers have found a role for men to play. "For the first couple of decades we talked about sexual assault, there were two characters: a potential perpetrator and a victim," says Dorothy Edwards, former director of the Violence Intervention and Prevention Center at the University of Kentucky, considered a leader among schools on best practices. "The only message for men was don't, don't, don't, don't be a rapist. It took different forms, like 'No means no' or 'Consent is sexy,' but if you are like the vast majority of college men who do not rape, you've now heard for the 17th time, Don't be a rapist. If that's your only message in prevention, you are alienated and defensive—of course you are! This is about acknowledging the third character in the story, the bystander."

With grant money from the Department of Justice, Missoula launched a cutting-edge bystander-awareness program designed by experts at the University of New Hampshire. It helps students come up with realistic strategies to intervene in sexual assaults before they happen—by trying to distract or stop a potential perpetrator or getting a potential victim (like an intoxicated girl) away from a risky situation.

"You can't go up to that group of frat members and say, 'Next time you see your buddy taking a drunk girl upstairs, you better say, Stop! No! Real men don't take drunk girls upstairs!'" says Edwards. Using a real example from a group she taught, Edwards tells of a fraternity brother who saw a friend taking a girl upstairs, and then called up and said, "Hey, dude, your car's getting towed." After the guy came down to check, he invited him to play beer pong as a distraction. Diversions like spilling a drink on someone or initiating a group activity are among the strategies that are talked about in bystander training.

Some Missoula students say they see a positive shift at the university

For the most part, the new ideas and accountability—Missoula agreed to an anonymous survey that will assess how measures are working—have been welcomed by school officials and students. So far, campus officials and student leaders are encouraged by the fact that reports of sexual misconduct to the dean of students and the Title IX investigation office have grown, suggesting that women feel they can safely come forward.

Some Missoula students say they see a shift in tone at the university too. "Things are slowly starting to change. You still encounter resistance, rape-culture issues. It hasn't gone away, but the university is taking great steps," says Jan Roddy, a junior and a coordinator at the student-run Women's Resource Center.

Past the edge of campus, things have not gone as smoothly. Part of the federal investigation scrutinized how city cops and county officials have handled campus assaults. In particular, the county prosecutor has not reacted well to Washington's feedback about how to do a better job.

"It's beyond belief that we would be accused of this," said Missoula County attorney Fred Van Valkenburg. Van Valkenburg, a round, bespectacled, pro-choice Obama supporter who employs mostly female attorneys, was referring to the Department of Justice's contention that his office has a pattern of discriminating against female victims. His response: "No way ... They are all progressive, liberal-thinking people. They are not going to sit by and watch the staff discriminate against women."

Justice investigators based that conclusion on interviews with victims and an analysis showing that from 2008 to 2012, only 16% of sexual-assault cases in Missoula were prosecuted. In the Justice Department's proposed settlement agreement in December 2013, the agency detailed possible measures that included new staff positions (a sexual-assault investigator and an in-house victim advocate) along with sexual-assault training for Van Valkenburg's team. Van Valkenburg says the city already has a victim's-advocate office with over eight employees and that some of his attorneys have already received sexual-assault training and will continue to do so.

For Van Valkenburg, who will retire at the end of the year after 16 years as the Missoula County attorney, the fight is an emotional one, with his legacy at stake. He says his prosecution rate is not out of step with national averages. He also contends that the Department of Justice relied on erroneous hearsay in its scathing findings letter, which included the comment from one attorney to the mother of a 5-year-old rape victim, "Boys will be boys." "People in this office don't think like that," he says.

Van Valkenburg has refused to cooperate with the Justice Department and is suing on the grounds that it doesn't have the authority to investigate his office. But even friends in town wish he would stop resisting. "I know Fred believes himself to be right, but at some point he's going to have to choose between being right and moving forward," says Missoula Mayor John Engen. For their part, the mayor and the chief of police have cooperated with Justice, implementing trauma training for police officers, creating a less intimidating interview room for sexual-assault victims and inviting trained counselors to participate in interviews with victims. All told, the city allocated roughly $350,000 in its 2015 fiscal year budget to cover the changes.

Will the kind of steps being taken at Missoula

actually make women safer? Few doubt that educating students about the sexual-assault threat and empowering them through bystander-awareness programs can help head off some assaults. But some victims and advocates say colleges

Stand-up guys *Men show support at a Walk a Mile in Her Shoes march in Defiance, Ohio*

need to get tougher on the perpetrators. Expulsion could be a powerful deterrent, but schools are still reluctant to expel young men over sexual conduct, say the co-founders of Know Your IX, a grassroots student movement that educates students about Title IX. "When someone who rapes is suspended for a day, it sends the message to the school community that sexual violence and relationship violence just isn't that big of a deal," says co-founder Dana Bolger, who says she was raped at Amherst College in 2011.

But while zero tolerance may sound good in principle, it can be disconcerting to male students—and their parents—who fear that zealous colleges will side with alleged victims in murky circumstances. "I wouldn't be surprised if there are schools in the country that don't expel people when they ought to. I'm also convinced there are schools that expel people when they shouldn't," says Matthew Kaiser, a criminal-defense attorney who has represented students accused of sexual assault at colleges and universities.

To properly protect accused students, Kaiser says, the standard for sexual assault should match the higher standard of proof applied to most other student violations, the accused should be entitled to representation by a lawyer or advocate and sanctions should reflect varying offenses. A student who sexually assaults a girl who is unconscious, he says, should receive a harsher punishment than one where the situation was ambiguous.

For the Obama Administration, the next step is widening the battle beyond Missoula. To kick this off, the White House released a report on April 29 outlining best practices for all schools. It called for some of the same measures undertaken at Montana, such as recommendations for a bystander-awareness program and advice on how to partner with the community and local law enforcement. It emphasized the value of annual campus surveys to hold colleges accountable. The White House hopes to make these mandatory through legislative or executive action, though that is anything but certain.

Without federal action, universities are unlikely to conduct the kind of anonymous surveys that would accurately reveal the breadth of their sexual-assault problem. The reason is fear of bad publicity and what it could mean for their college rankings and their bottom line. If some schools conduct surveys and others don't, the schools that do the right thing may end up looking less safe than their competitors. Mandatory surveys would allow parents to compare accurate data and put all schools on equal footing.

Ratcheting up the pressure, the Administration then released its May 1 list of the 55 schools under federal scrutiny for possible Title IX violations. The goal: signal to schools that their reputations will suffer if they fail to address sexual assault.

But beyond the public shaming, there isn't much more the Department of Education can do. Not all the schools listed will be found in violation, and only some will enter into a settlement agreement as Missoula did. Technically, the department can withhold federal funding for Title IX violations. Yet that punishment is seen as so severe, it's considered unlikely the Administration would mete it out, say members of Congress.

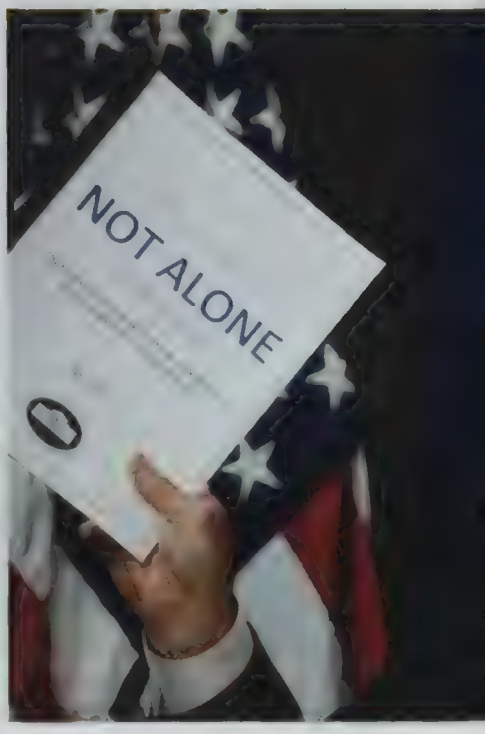
The bottom line: the White House's proposed reforms don't have teeth without mandatory climate surveys that would supply honest data on campus safety, or an ability to levy fines. Congressional action is needed, and for student activists and victims, those hopes are riding on efforts from Democratic Senators Kirsten Gillibrand of New York, Claire McCaskill of Missouri and Richard Blumenthal of Connecticut—the same trio that recently worked on bills to address sexual assault in the military and has promised to work on campus assaults.

The three Senators and their staffs met recently to brainstorm and came up with more than a dozen ideas for measures to put in a campus-assaults bill. Gillibrand tells TIME that standout ideas so far include requiring climate surveys to give everyone, including prospective students and parents, an apples-to-apples comparison of schools and extending the statute of limitations on Title IX complaints beyond the current six months. McCaskill says she is also interested in examining fines, federal grants for prevention efforts and mandating that a trained interviewer meet victims early in the process. Both Gillibrand and McCaskill say they favor tougher sanctions against perpetrators and greater cooperation between colleges and local law enforcement. Whether a majority of their colleagues would agree is far from clear.

Back at Missoula, meanwhile, the mood is better. The spring air is throwing the Bitterroot Mountains in sharp relief, and some of the campus angst about the "rape capital" nickname has been supplanted by confidence that the university is on the right path. Graduation is set for May 17 in the school's beloved Washington Grizzly Stadium. Some 3,600 students will move on, having received degrees and an unexpected crash course on the myths and realities of sexual assault. And this fall, a new class of freshmen will arrive in need of the same education. ■

WALK A MILE IN HER SHOES INTERNATIONAL

The Debate: How should college campuses handle sexual assault?



KIRSTEN GILLIBRAND

It's a Crime

There is a pervasive lack of understanding when it comes to the true nature of campus sexual assault. These are not dates gone bad or a good guy who had too much to drink. This is a crime largely perpetrated by repeat offenders, who instead of facing a prosecutor and a jail cell remain on campus after a short-term suspension, if punished at all.

Gillibrand is a U.S. Senator from New York

JED RUBENFELD

Redefining Rape

In addition to widespread underreporting and defective procedures for handling campus rape, another fundamental problem is confusion over the very definition of rape. Yale redefined sexual assault among students as any "nonconsensual sexual contact," where consent must be a prior "unambiguous" "agreement" to each "specific" touching, whether or not consented to in the past. This sounds great until you think about it. If two Yale students are kissing and one of them touches the other sexually, that person has apparently committed sexual assault even if they've done it before. Other colleges tell students that sex with someone intoxicated is always assault. And in the past, schools have warned that sex could be deemed coercive if there were "power differentials" between students, "real or perceived," like if an undergrad slept with a graduate teaching assistant, or if a student felt "psychologically pressured."

These overbroad, unenforceable definitions of sexual assault are counterproductive. They conflate violent rape with objectionable conduct of much lesser gravity. They may discourage reporting because the process so often ends with no punishment or, conversely, results in punishment of individuals who haven't actually committed an assault. Worst of all, they fail to target the real problem: the small percentage of actual rapists who escape punishment again and again; RAINN, the nation's largest anti-sexual-violence organization, recently cited evidence suggesting that over 90% of college rapes are committed by just 3% of college men who are repeat offenders.

If we want to get serious about college rape, we should do four things. First, clear up the rules: sex is rape when procured by violence, threat, physical incapacitation, drugging or intoxication so great that the victim didn't know what was happening. Second, at fraternities or similar houses, anyone who knows that another person is having sex with someone incapacitated by alcohol (or surreptitiously drugged) should be subject to discipline if he does nothing to try to stop it. Third, rape complaints should be heard by independent, trained professionals instead of school administrators. Finally, when one student is accused by more than one complainant, special procedures should be triggered and students strongly encouraged to go to the police.

Rubenfeld is a Yale Law School professor and a co-author of The Triple Package with his wife Amy Chua

EMMA SULKOWICZ

A Survivor Still Haunted

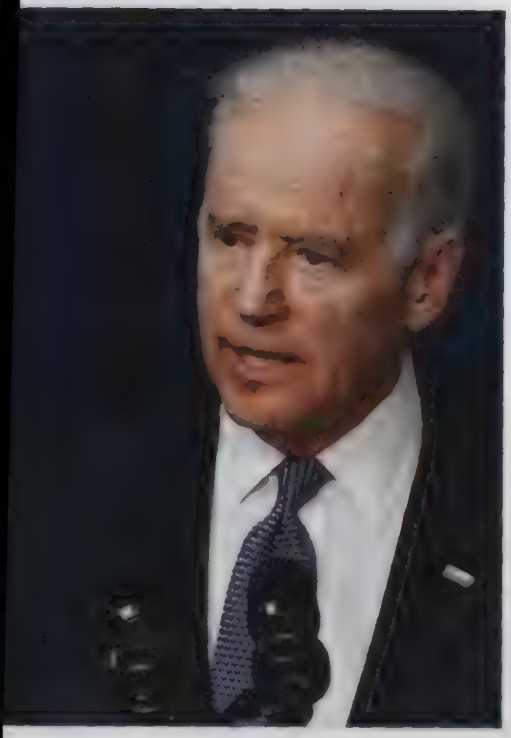
I was raped the first day of my sophomore year. I didn't report it at first, but then I met two other women who said the same person had assaulted them. I had to do something. We all reported our cases, and all three were dismissed.

During my hearing, which didn't take place until seven months after I reported the incident, one panelist kept asking me how it was physically possible for anal rape to happen. I was put in the horrible position of trying to explain how this terrible thing happened to me. I also had to watch my rapist give his testimony on a television. Not only was he lying, but he was also making up these graphic and disgusting stories of sex that we'd had.

Ultimately they decided he wasn't guilty. I appealed, but appeals go to the dean, who basically has the autonomy to make the final decision for every case of sexual assault on campus. That's not right. They must find a disinterested party, or they should train the dean, because he hasn't been trained to deal with survivors.

Every day, I am afraid to leave my room. As long as my rapist is on campus, he can harass me. I've lost friends who say they sympathize with him. I think many men see rape as kinky sex that went wrong. They say girls are confusing and it's hard to tell when you're supposed to stop. When I was raped, I was screaming "no" and struggling against him. He was turned on by my distress.

Sulkowicz is a junior at Columbia University



JOE BIDEN

The White House Acts

You don't want to be a school that mishandles rape. Guess what? Step up. It's time. It's absolutely time because the moral disapprobation of society is the most powerful tool for effecting change.

Biden is the Vice President of the U.S.

MARISKA HARGITAY

Ending the Silence

Society continues to misplace blame and shame on survivors—both women and men—on college campuses and everywhere else. That has to end. We must confront the myths and excuses that help perpetuate sexual assault. We must speak about these issues boldly, thoughtfully and often because criminals thrive when we are silent, when we are reluctant to engage, when we insist that these issues are too murky to sort out.

Hargitay founded the Joyful Heart Foundation and stars in Law & Order: SVU

TERESA SULLIVAN

Best Practices

Adjudication is difficult. We have to respect the rights of the accused, as well as rights of the accuser, just as you would have to do in the criminal-justice system.

Sullivan is the president of the University of Virginia

MATTHEW KAISER

What About Our Sons?

Colleges will risk sanction by the Department of Education if they don't take action in favor of women who report sexual assault. The school's incentive is to set up a process that results in guilt. One way schools accomplish this is by defining sexual assault as sex with anyone who has been drinking. But drunk sex isn't what Joe Biden is talking about. The "drunk sex = rape" rule is systematically unfair to male students, especially when we all know drunk sex is common in college. When my daughter leaves for college, I want her to be protected from sexual assault. But when my son goes to college, I want him not to risk his future whenever he has sex after a party. And, based on the cases I've seen, I'm more concerned for my son than my daughter.

Kaiser is a criminal defense lawyer who has represented students accused of sexual assault

JACLYN FRIEDMAN

An Image Problem

Trusting schools to quietly and voluntarily prevent sexual violence on campus has been tried for decades, and it's failed. It fails because schools that succeed at suppressing victim reporting benefit from the impression that they don't have a "rape problem," while the more transparent schools' reputations (and donations) take a hit.

Friedman is an activist and a co-editor of Yes Means Yes

CHRISTINA HOFF SOMMERS

Campus Hysteria

Sexual assault on campus is a genuine problem—but the new rape-culture crusade is turning ugly. Professors have been urged to place "trigger warnings" on class syllabi with books like *The Great Gatsby* because of misogynist violence. Students at Boston University tried to have a Robin Thicke concert canceled: his hit song "Blurred Lines" is supposedly a rape anthem. (Lyrics include "I know you want it.") Meanwhile, the list of falsely accused young men subject to kangaroo-court justice is growing. This movement will do little to help victims, but it is turning our campuses into hostile environments for free expression and due process. And so far, university officials, political leaders and the White House are siding with the mob.

Sommers is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute

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WIN MCNAMEE—GETTY IMAGES

Anguish and heartache
Mothers weep at the site of their daughters' burned school in Chibok, Nigeria

WORLD

BRING BACK ALL GIRLS

WHAT THE 276 GIRLS ABDUCTED FROM A NIGERIAN SCHOOL TELL US ABOUT HUMAN TRAFFICKING

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

AT FIRST, THE STUDENTS THOUGHT THE MEN WHO ARRIVED THAT NIGHT HAD COME TO SAVE THEM.

This is what the soldiers insisted they were doing when they ordered the girls out of their dormitories in the dark of April 14. But as the school burned, it became clearer what the girls were being protected from: education. In the Hausa tongue native to that part of northern Nigeria, the group's name, *Boko Haram*, means, roughly, "Western education is unclean."

The men hadn't bothered to be stealthy. They'd announced their intentions in nearby villages. They'd even stopped and asked local herdsmen for directions to the Government Girls Secondary School in Chibok, according to reports from Amnesty International. The spooked herdsmen and villagers had relayed their concerns to the authorities. Nevertheless, the all-girls school was unprotected when large numbers of armed extremists arrived hours later and herded the students onto trucks and buses.

Boko Haram is known as a terrorist group, but with its latest thrust, it has moved into a new line of business: large-volume human trafficking. The group's leader, Abubakar Shekau, hinted at as much in one of two videos he released after the abduction. "We will give their hands in marriage because they are our slaves," he announced. "We will sell them in the market."

Intentionally or not, Boko Haram set off a wave of outrage that started with the girls' mothers, then splashed to almost every corner of the world. Casual observers and celebrities took their protest to social media, while international agencies and diplomats began to express concern through official channels. Secretary of State John Kerry said the U.S. would "provide whatever assistance is possible" to help return the girls, while Republican Senator John McCain urged the deployment of American Special Forces. The global wail served as a wake-up call to the millions who were under the misimpression that slavery had been eradicated.

The fate of the 276 girls in Nigeria is, in the view of some, a race against the clock. While one girl says on a video released on May 11 that they had not been abused, observers fear that they will be sold into prostitution or given as "wives" to soldiers. Girls who have returned from previous kidnappings by Boko Haram have all arrived pregnant or with young babies. "Let us call evil by its name," says Sister Rosemary Nyirumbe, who runs a center for girls who were captured, sometimes by the schoolful, to become "wives" of the Lord's Resistance Army in Sudan and Northern Uganda during the '90s. "Let us say these girls are being given in sex slavery."

The Modern Slave Trade

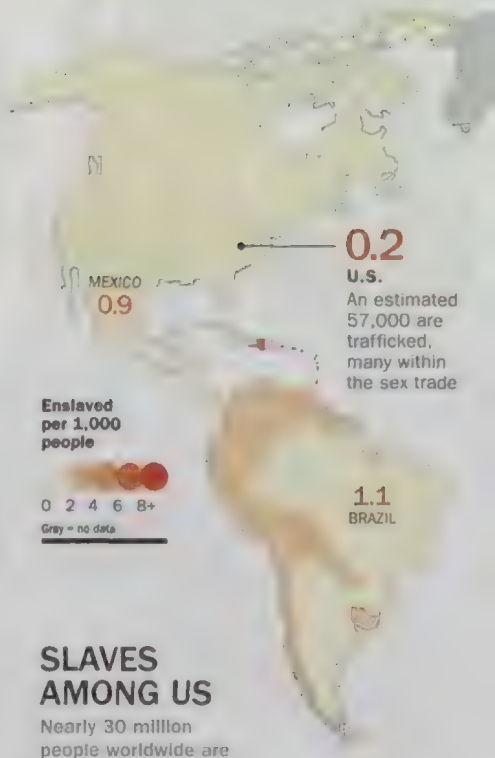
ON THE SPECTRUM OF ABHORRENT BUSINESS practices, buying and selling humans, especially children, remains the gold standard. Yet modern abolitionists say it happens all the time. "This Nigerian eruption is a chilling and unusual form of trafficking," says Carol Smolenski, executive director of ECPAT-USA, an organization that fights child trafficking. "But I can tell you definitively that the sexual exploitation of children takes place in every country." Many nations are simply in denial about it. "I've learned, after 22 years of working on this issue, the first conversation in any new country starts with, 'But we don't have that here.'"

It may not look like the slave trade of old—no country legally protects the institution of slavery anymore, and the shackles are economic or psychological rather than physical—but the trade in humans is a thriving 21st century business. Finding people to enslave is not that complicated. The most fertile ground shares three main attributes: a heavy mantle of poverty, a cluster of especially vulnerable people and only trace amounts of the rule of law. Much of the world fits that description.

The most conservative abolitionists estimate that 21 million people are currently in some sort of involuntary servitude, while others say it's closer to 30 million. Either way, it's the highest number in history. According to the U.N., victims from 136 different countries have been found in 118 other countries, having been taken there either against their will or through deceit. China, India and Pakistan have the most slaves, followed by Nigeria, but smaller countries like Mauritania and Haiti have a higher prevalence of slavery.

The numbers are very approximate. Not only does the trade thrive on invisibility, but also not everybody agrees on the definition of trafficking or slavery. "If you deprive someone of their liberty through force, coercion or fraud for the purpose of exploiting them, that's considered trafficking," says Nick Grono, CEO of the Freedom Fund. Under that definition, trafficking exists on a continuum. Child brides, a frighteningly high number of prostitutes and underpaid immigrant maids can be considered trafficked, as well as girls sold by their parents into brothels.

What percentage of these unfree agents serve the sex industry is even harder to pin down. The latest report (2012) from the U.N. Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) puts the sex-trade estimate at 58% of all the trafficking it can detect. In contrast, the International Labor Organization estimates that only 22% of women trafficked end



SLAVES AMONG US

Nearly 30 million people worldwide are exploited and treated as property. These victims—adults and children—are forced to work, marry, serve in wars or provide sex

PREVIOUS PAGES ADAM NOSSITER—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

4.5 MILLION
Estimated number of forced laborers subject to sexual exploitation

18 MONTHS
Average period of time that victims spend in forced labor

26%
Percentage of forced-labor victims who are 18 or younger

up as prostitutes. What nobody disagrees about, though, is the return on investment.

"The sex-trafficking industry is hugely profitable," says Grono. "The annual profit margin on each woman is about 70%. Highly successful companies such as Google have a profit margin of around 22%." Because it's so lucrative, traffickers have found myriad ways to conscript new women. Sometimes victims are kidnapped, and sometimes they're simply hoodwinked by false offers of a better life through training, education or a low-level but legal job in a wealthy, faraway land. Some girls are wooed by boyfriends who turn out to be captors. What they thought was a ticket to paradise takes them instead to hell on earth.

And tragically, some girls are sold by their parents, usually unwittingly. Grono's research found that traffickers in South Asia were paid $300 to $800 per girl. In Mumbai, each sexual service a girl renders could earn her exploiters $10. "Women are expected to perform 10 to 20 sex acts a night," says Grono.

Sex trafficking is one of those rare businesses in which the rewards are high and the risks relatively low. Chances of getting caught are slim. Once the women have children, they are less likely to try to escape or seek out authorities. And policing is spotty. From 2007 to 2010, 16% of the countries the UNODC studied did not record a single conviction for any kind of trafficking.

The poor-and-vulnerable archetype does not apply in every case. Nor is it true that this is only a developing-world problem. Shandra Woworuntu, a college graduate who had worked at the Treasury Department of the Korea Exchange Bank in Indonesia, arrived at JFK Airport in New York City in 2001 expecting a job at a hotel.

Move the spotlight that is currently trained on Borno almost anywhere else in the world and it will reveal trade in human beings

Instead she was taken to a brothel and stripped of her passport and belongings at gunpoint. After several months of being handed around brothels in Connecticut and New York, she escaped by removing the louvers from a second-floor bathroom window. She now works with other survivors of trafficking. "I'm educated and I became a victim," she says. "It can happen to anyone."

Move the spotlight that's currently trained on Nigeria's Borno state almost anywhere else in the world and it will reveal some kind of trade in human beings. Some is easily identified: in the upper Volta region of Ghana, the fishing industry is profitable only on the backs of hundreds of children. Some is almost invisible, corralled in high-tech factories in Asia or construction in the Middle East. No country is untouched.

The Targets

IN ONE WAY, THE GIRLS FROM CHIBOK HAD been lucky. More than a third of Nigerian children work full time and don't attend school, while 28% combine work and school. According to UNESCO, Nigeria has more children who are not in the classroom than anywhere else in the world.

But the girls' education made them targets. They were only at school briefly to sit for exams when Boko Haram, which has been in a grueling fight with the Nigerian army for months, struck. "As the security situation in a society erodes, girls tend to be more vulnerable," says Emily Janoch, who works on gender issues at CARE. "They tend to be on the front lines of who's getting penalized for broader conflicts because it's easier to get at them. And because they are not valued as much."

Being female and Nigerian is, in fact, one of the less lucky human conditions. According to the UNODC, Nigeria is one of the top countries of origin for human trafficking. There's a particularly active corridor between that part of West Africa and Italy. Some estimates suggest that 60% of the prostitutes in Italian brothels hail from Nigeria.

Indeed, the Chibok girls' case is not even the most extreme example of Nigerian child trafficking. In May 2013, 17 pregnant girls ages 14 to 17 were rescued from a so-called baby farm, an orphanage in Imo, in the southeast, where they had all been impregnated, reportedly by the same man. The infants they bore were being sold off for adoption, forced labor or worse. This is not the only baby farm Nigerian police have uncovered. UNICEF estimates that at least 10 children are sold daily across the country.

And then there are the child brides.

Even Nigerians who believe in educating their daughters will arrange to have them married young, prematurely ending their schooling. "Forced marriage is common in the northern part of the country, where we also have the issue of child marriage," says Chigoziri Ojiaka, an attorney and the director of Nigeria's Gender and Child Rights Initiative in Lagos. The area around where the girls were taken has one of the highest rates of child marriage in the world.

By most definitions, forcing a child to marry is another form of sex trafficking. But activists who work with communities where child marriage is customary say parents sometimes believe they are doing the best thing for their daughters. "As girls get old they might get harassed as they go to school, so parents will marry them to protect them from that," says Janoch. "Not getting married at all has really dire consequences."

Education first *A school uniform belonging to one of the abducted girls. "My grief is deep," said a father. "I'd rather my daughter was dead than face this horror."*

An Awkward Coincidence

IN THE CASE OF THE CHIBOK GIRLS, even though some of their parents went after them, found them and informed local military leaders of their whereabouts, no immediate rescue operation was mounted. "What surprises us is the indifference of the military, which did nothing to intercept the kidnappers in their movements from one town to the other with our girls," said Pogu Bitrus, a Chibok elder.

Not only was the army unwilling or unable to act, but almost three weeks passed before the girls' plight was publicly acknowledged by Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan. That meant the abduction was big news just as Nigeria was trying to spruce up its image as host of the World Economic Forum (WEF) in its capital, Abuja. The missing girls quickly became Topic A. Even Africa's richest man waded into the fray. "The situation is out of hand," said Aliko Dangote, who has built a more than $2 billion fortune in Nigeria on cement, sugar, salt and, more recently, energy. "I think the government is trying to get themselves together. I think they have been taken by surprise."

Nigeria is very much a tale of two countries. In April the country "rebased" its GDP numbers to adjust for new industries like telecoms and its movie industry, known as Nollywood. Overnight, GDP grew by 89%, making Nigeria's the largest economy on the continent, surpassing South Africa's and growing at about 7%. Jonathan was no doubt hoping the WEF would be an opportunity for foreign investors to give his country another look.

But poverty has a way of repelling money, and Nigeria's wealth is unevenly spread. Much of it is concentrated in the southern, predominantly Christian states. The north, where Boko Haram operates, is excruciatingly poor and mostly Muslim. Boko Haram claims to want to start a separate nation under Shari'a—in one video released by the group, the girls were shown wearing Islamic coverings and professing their faith in Allah—but many experts believe the conflict in the north is more about economic desperation and thuggery than faith. The World Bank estimates that 100 million Nigerians live in poverty. At least 20 million are unemployed, 5 million of them youths. Almost 45% of the population is under 15. In March, so many applicants turned up for entry tests into the Nigeria Immigration Service that there were stampedes and 19 people were killed.

Stopping the Traffic

AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT MODERN slavery looks like has grown exponentially in the U.S. in the past few years, as have efforts to address it. In July 2013, the FBI staged a three-day action—Operation Cross Country VII—that netted 105 children and 150 pimps across 76 cities. In April that year, the Obama Administration released a strategic action plan designed to better assist victims of trafficking.

In this case, the U.S. has sent 16 military, law-enforcement and technical advisers to Nigeria and is providing commercial satellite imagery as well as flying manned reconnaissance missions to help find the missing girls. Boko Haram's leader says he wants to exchange them for prisoners, which seems unlikely. The international pressure may spell harm or rescue for them. If they're dispersed into small groups to avoid detection, the chances they will endure sexual abuse—and be lost forever—are much higher.

Rescuing the students, warns Sister Rosemary, is only the first step in a long journey back for them. So far very few of their names have been released, in part to avoid any of the perverse stigma of rape, which can often fall on the victim. If the girls have been abused they'll need their education more than ever, partly because traditional marriage may be closed to them and partly because they'll need to be taught that their circumstances do not mean they no longer have value. "When these girls come out, it would be good to let them be together and to find some useful activities for them so they can get absorbed," says Sister Rosemary. "Send in counselors, but the real counseling comes when they can sit together and talk."

It's no accident that the best solution for the challenges faced by the Nigerian girls—and nearly all those who are sexually trafficked—is education, the very thing Boko Haram wishes to "rescue" them from. Many women who get coerced into prostitution all over the world do not see themselves as victims. Their brothel becomes their home, their pimp family. Without a viable alternative future, a lot of those rescued from sex work return to it. This is especially true in countries where poverty is endemic and women are not valued. But it's not untrue even in the wealthiest nations. "I'm telling you sincerely this is not just a Nigerian problem anymore," says Sister Rosemary. "This is happening everywhere." —WITH REPORTING BY RANA FOROOHAR/ABUJA ■

GLENNA GORDON FOR TIME

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THE JUNGLE PRIMARY

All bets are off in California's congressional races as multiple candidates from the same party face off

BY JOE KLEIN

"I'M GUESSING," SAYS DAN SCHNUR, WHO IS RUNning for California secretary of state, "that not many of you lie awake at night wondering what the next California secretary of state will do." There is laughter from the crowd of maybe 30 voters. And you, too, dear readers—especially those of you who don't even live in California—may be wondering why a candidate for a decidedly obscure political office is worthy of your attention.

Well, part of it is that Dan Schnur is an interesting guy, a longtime consultant to moderate Republicans like Arnold Schwarzenegger and John McCain. But he isn't a Republican anymore. He's running as an Independent. "I'm in favor of marriage equality and lower taxes," he begins. "I'm tough on crime and pro-choice. I'm for immigration reform and for using test scores as a valuable measure of students' progress. Yes, the reason that I'm running as an Independent is that neither party will have me."

But that's not exactly accurate. He's running as an Independent because there were two political reforms enacted during Schwarzenegger's time as governor of California. They were below the radar but startling, the sort of reforms that are near impossible because incumbent politicians usually block them—but they were passed by public referendum and initiative in 2010, and Schnur was one of those at the heart of the campaign to get them enacted.

The reforms are ingeniously simple. There is no more gerrymandering in California, no more congressional or state legislative districts tailored to the needs of the incumbents or the majority political

Liberal lion *Mike Honda in D.C., where he has support from the Democratic establishment. He has served seven terms in Congress but faces challenges from within his own party*

party. District lines are now drawn by an independent commission to reflect actual community borders. (The commissioners are forbidden by law from knowing where the incumbents live.) Second, primaries are now multipartisan: the top two vote getters, regardless of party affiliation, face off against each other in the general election. Schnur co-chaired the Voices of Reform project on redistricting. "I wasn't too involved in the top-two primary reform," he says. "I didn't think it would make much difference ... but I've learned: this could be enormous." Schnur and his colleagues may have actually created an electoral system that favors centrists rather than politicians who play to their party's base. On June 3, California will go to the polls in what politicos have taken to calling the Jungle Primary.

CALIFORNIA'S FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IS a perfect primer for the curiosities of the Jungle. Tom McClintock, 57, is the three-term incumbent and has long prided himself on his "constitutionalist" orneriness. He is, in other words, a Tea Party Republican. His district, in the Central Valley and foothills, is very conservative but perhaps not as extreme as McClintock is. He is, for example, in favor of amnesty for Edward Snowden, the NSA leaker, because Snowden helped expose the criminal proclivities of the federal government and "I'd rather have him home talking to us than over there talking to the Russians."

At a well-attended Saturday-afternoon meeting in the town of Mariposa, near the entrance to Yosemite National Park, McClintock endorsed a candidate for county supervisor and then addressed the crowd, many of whom wore cowboy hats and sported some elaborate facial hair. They were all het up over the federal government and the "left-wing environmentalists," as McClintock described them, calling the federal tune in Yosemite. Some of their complaints sounded reasonable: a local toad was about to be labeled "threatened," which would further limit the local water supply (there's been a terrible drought in California)—but the toads were dying out, according to the locals, because the feds had stocked the lakes with trout, which ate the tadpoles. The feds were also proposing to close down stables and rafting businesses along the Yosemite waterways.

McClintock is a smart politician who knows the issues, knows what his constituents care about and can make it seem as if he's as angry as they are. He takes lonely—his opponents say obstructionist—stands against the various agencies of the Department of the Interior. He "speaks truth to power," as he told the folks in Mariposa. In the past, he didn't have many electoral cares; the Democrats have never had much of a chance in either the old or new Fourth District. But now McClintock has to worry about Art Moore, who is also a Republican.

Conservative stalwart *Tom McClintock, at a parade in Nevada City. He was first elected in 2008 and is best known for his far-right voting record*

Right of center *Vanila Singh, in San Francisco. She is running as a Republican, although she is socially liberal on issues like abortion*

Moore, 36, is a razor-sharp recent combat veteran, an Army major returned to his hometown of Roseville, the most populous community in the Fourth District. He is a graduate of West Point who served tours in both Iraq and Kuwait. He is also, however, a stone-cold neophyte who hasn't really been to political boot camp yet. He is, he says, "a conservative," and he checks the appropriate boxes on most conservative issues, like Obamacare—but he also is "a bit more libertarian" than McClintock on social issues like gay marriage and abortion. Most important, though, is his style: he's the opposite of McClintock's lone gunslinger. "You've got to sit down and negotiate with those you don't agree with," he says. "[McClintock] has a perfect conservative voting record, but what has he got done? He voted to shut down the federal government—to close Yosemite—which really hurt this district. I'm in favor of building coalitions and seeing if we can make some progress on the issues."

Moore admits that he would not have run under the old system. McClintock has the party base locked up and the power of incumbency. But if Moore can make it into the general election against McClintock, he may be able to access independent and moderate Democratic voters as well as his brand of conservative Republicans. "In the Jungle Primary, everybody has to run to the center," says Fred Keeley, a former state rep from Santa Cruz who co-chaired the Voices of Reform project with Schnur, "because that's where the votes are."

McClintock claims not to be worried about Moore. He tells me that his "most substantial opponent" in the Fourth District is an Independent named Jeffrey Gerlach. It's a lovely tactic to pretend that Moore doesn't matter and a sign that uniprimary politics can get pretty interesting: a Republican opponent like Moore, who might appeal to moderates in November, when more people are paying attention, is McClintock's worst nightmare in the Jungle.

FOURTH DISTRICT

TOM McCLINTOCK
Incumbent Republican, 57; joined the Tea Party caucus in 2010

ART MOORE
Republican, 36; West Point graduate with combat experience; now a management consultant running on a moderate platform

OTHER CANDIDATES
Jeffrey Gerlach, Independent, 54

Indeed, across the state in Silicon Valley, there has been an outbreak of electoral weirdness in the 17th Congressional District—which, in some ways, is a mirror image of the race in the Fourth: Mike Honda, a traditional labor liberal, is opposed by a more moderate Democratic newcomer named Ro Khanna. Khanna, 37, is an Indian American, an intellectual-property lawyer who worked in Barack Obama's Commerce Department and has close ties to the President. He has also reportedly raised $3.7 million—far more than Honda—from Silicon Valley tech titans, who are just beginning to flex their political muscles (much as Hollywood did during the Vietnam War). Khanna is an impressive candidate, fluent on every issue and, in some cases, downright courageous: he is willing to challenge the public-employee unions—all of which support Honda—on issues like accountability and pension reform. Most of the major newspapers in the district have endorsed Khanna.

But the 17th District also has a semiplausible third candidate—a Republican named Dr. Vanila Singh, 43, a young and attractive professor of anesthesiology at Stanford University Medical School. Singh is a neophyte and can seem foggy on the issues, but she has positioned herself cleverly—she's

MCCLINTOCK: SACRAMENTO BEE/ZUMA PRESS; SINGH: BRANT WARD—SF CHRONICLE/CORBIS

Challenger from the left *Art Moore, speaking at Sierra College in Rocklin. He hopes to appeal to moderates in the Fourth District*

Tech's man *Ro Khanna, center top, at his headquarters in Fremont, is running in the 17th District with help from Silicon Valley titans like Sheryl Sandberg*

another social liberal, and she's willing to negotiate with the Democrats about the Affordable Care Act. In fact, since about 25% of the district votes Republican, she might pose a credible primary threat to Khanna, the Democratic moderate. And so, after she declared her candidacy, there was a sudden flowering of old-style urban ward politics in and around San Jose. Suddenly, Singh had two Republican challengers—one named, confusingly enough, Vanish Singh Rathore (who was eliminated from the ballot because the signatures on his petitions were not remotely plausible); the other, Joel Vanlandingham, offered petitions that included signatures from Khanna supporters.

Khanna denies any hand in this. "I would have to be pretty stupid to get involved in that sort of thing," he says. "I mean, Vanlandingham was really tough on me in the League of Women Voters debate."

THERE ARE SOME WHO SAY THAT THE JUNGLE WILL cause of lot of rumbling but no real results. "The rubber meets the road when the moderates go to Congress," says Samuel Popkin of the University of California at San Diego. "The evidence suggests they stick with the party line." The evidence is skimpy, though—just the 2012 election, when the Jungle was brand-new and most politicians weren't completely aware of its possibilities yet. Some felt the traditional pull of partisan loyalty and chose not to challenge their party's stalwarts.

Khanna was one such in 2012, when he chose not to challenge the venerable Representative Pete Stark, a devoted liberal and the only admitted atheist in the House. Another young Democrat, Eric Swalwell, made that race and beat Stark, which sent a signal throughout the state that the Jungle was open for business: you could challenge incumbents of your own party and maybe even win.

Honda seems a bit mystified by all that has happened. His is a classic American story. He spent part of his youth imprisoned in a Japanese-American internment camp in Colorado during World War II. He was inspired, not embittered, by the experience. He became a teacher and then a school principal, then commenced a public life that culminated in seven terms in Congress. His campaign office is in a Service Employees International Union hall. He greets me wearing jeans and cowboy boots and a red, white and blue Democratic donkey tie.

He sees his career as many incumbents do: a list of local projects funded, of ideological battles fought—in his case, the relentless pursuit of social justice and civil rights. He remembers helping get a nanotechnology bill passed in 2003 at the behest of Silicon Valley, but now the techno-wizards have abandoned him in favor of Khanna. "I'm an orchardist," he says. "That nanotechnology bill planted the seeds for the trees that are bearing the fruit in Silicon Valley now. But I guess no one remembers those who plant the trees."

It is hard not to have sympathy for Honda, but the political orchard he and his generation planted was poisoned over time by partisanship and paralysis, and now it has been replaced by a jungle. We'll see what sorts of glorious fruits and subtle poisons the Jungle brings forth. ■

17TH DISTRICT

VANILA SINGH
Republican, 43; anesthesiologist and Stanford professor

RO KHANNA
Democrat, 37; the lawyer, author and former Obama trade rep has wide support from Silicon Valley leaders

OTHER CANDIDATES
Mike Honda, Incumbent Democrat, 72

Joel Vanlandingham, Republican, 47

MOORE: LEZLIE STERLING—SACRAMENTO BEE/ZUMA PRESS; KHANNA: LEA SUZUKI—SF CHRONICLE/CORBIS

Final moments *The viewing room at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility looks onto the chamber where McGuire was executed*

CRIME

LETHAL INJECTION WAS SUPPOSED TO BE QUICK, PAINLESS AND HUMANE. SO WHY IS IT NOW SO TROUBLING?

FATALLY FLAWED

BY JOSH SANBURN

SEVEN DAYS BEFORE HIS EXECUTION, convicted murderer Dennis McGuire gave his son a wristwatch. As the first person to be put to death using a new, untested, two-drug combination, McGuire wanted his son to observe his final moments and to time how long it would take for him to die.

A little after 10 a.m. on Jan. 16, 2014, McGuire, 53, walked into the brown-tiled execution chamber at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility in Lucasville, pop. 2,757. As his son, daughter and daughter-in-law watched from the other side of the glass, McGuire climbed onto the gurney and stretched out his arms. He'd been told by his lawyers that Ohio's new lethal-injection protocol could cause him to experience "air hunger" and feelings of terror as he tried to catch his breath.

Guards strapped McGuire's wrists, waist and legs to the table, rolled up his sleeves and placed an IV in each arm near the elbow joint. Then McGuire used a microphone to say his last words. He apologized to the family of Joy Stewart, the 22-year-old pregnant woman he was convicted of kidnapping, raping and murdering in 1989, and he told his kids that he loved them and that he would see them again. Then the warden buttoned his suit jacket, a signal for the execution to begin. It was 10:27 a.m.

As 10 mg of the sedative midazolam and 50 mg of the painkiller hydromorphone entered his veins, McGuire tried waving at his family by opening his hands and closing them into fists. The waves soon slowed. He put his head back, stopped moving and closed his eyes. Then he started snoring so loudly that observers could hear it through the glass.

Remembering his father's instructions, Dennis R. McGuire looked down at the watch: a little after 10:30 a.m. He looked back up to see his father trying to break free of the straps, arching his back and pushing his wrists and head against the gurney.

As the minutes went by, McGuire kept thrashing and making loud gurgling noises that sounded to his family like drowning. In the viewing room, McGuire's daughter-in-law turned to a priest sitting nearby. "It shouldn't be taking this long," she said.

Finally, at 10:50 a.m., McGuire stopped moving. A prison guard looked over to McGuire's daughter-in-law. "Sorry," he mouthed. The official time of death was 10:53 a.m.

Injections on Hold

THE EXECUTION TOOK 26 MINUTES FROM start to finish, the longest (by four minutes) in Ohio since the state restored capital punishment 15 years ago and more than 15 minutes longer than lethal injections are expected to take.

For decades, most states with capital punishment used a standard combination of three drugs in lethal injections: a sedative, often sodium thiopental; pancuronium bromide as a paralytic agent; and potassium chloride to stop the heart. The drugs in the cocktail were easy to come by and effective, allowing for a relatively standard lethal-injection protocol throughout the U.S. The mix appeared to quickly sedate inmates, halt their breathing and then stop their heart. These days, the ways states are choosing to kill their most heinous criminals are anything but uniform.

States used to buy lethal-injection drugs from the same large, multinational pharmaceutical companies that make cholesterol medication and sleep aids. But in 2011, the European Commission—in Europe capital punishment is widely illegal—tightened controls on the sale of drugs for use in executions elsewhere. As stockpiles dwindled, states scrambled for alternative sources: manufacturers in developing countries, lightly regulated compounding pharmacies, even prison wardens buying drugs under their own names.

The upended supply chain has led many states to experiment with new combinations. Since 2010, 15 of the 32 states with the death penalty have used a new lethal-injection protocol. Nine states now shield the identity of their lethal-drug suppliers. The result has been high-profile mishaps that have called into question the future of what was once thought to be the most humane way to kill.

On Jan. 9, a week before Ohio used its new formula on McGuire, Oklahoma injected the convicted murderer Michael Lee Wilson with a combination of pentobarbital, vecuronium bromide and potassium chloride. As the cocktail was administered, Wilson reportedly said, "I feel my whole body burning," before dying.

Nearly four months later, Oklahoma tried a different mix. On April 29, the state executed Clayton Lockett—convicted in 2000 of murdering a 19-year-old woman by shooting her and then burying her alive—with midazolam, vecuronium bromide and potassium chloride obtained from an undisclosed source. The midazolam was supposed to render Lockett unconscious before he received fatal doses of the other two drugs. Yet after seeming to pass out, Lockett opened his eyes and started mumbling and thrashing against the gurney. Believing he would survive, the warden sought to have the execution stayed and resumed at a later date. But it was too late. Forty-three minutes after the execution began, Lockett died of a heart attack.

State officials blamed the bungled execution on a collapsed vein, not the new drugs, and Oklahoma Governor Mary Fallin suspended all executions pending a review of the state's lethal-injection protocol. But that did little to quiet the growing debate over whether the current form of lethal injection violates the ban on cruel and unusual punishment in the Eighth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. President Obama called Lockett's prolonged death "deeply disturbing" and instructed Attorney General Eric Holder to review how the death penalty is applied around the country.

Meanwhile, nine states have put executions on hold in part because of pending lawsuits from death-row inmates arguing that the use of untested drug combinations from unknown suppliers increases the chances that their deaths will be inhumane. And legislators in Missouri, Virginia and Wyoming have explored whether to bring back older execution methods like firing squads and the gas chamber as more dependable alternatives.

The mounting problems have led doctors, academics and others who study how America kills its criminals to question if the issues surrounding lethal injection may prompt a larger rethinking of capital punishment.

'STATES HAVE GONE HAYWIRE TO PERPETUATE EXECUTIONS AT ANY COST.'

—DEBORAH DENNO, FORDHAM UNIVERSITY LAW PROFESSOR

"Anytime you have a lethal injection that's gone awry," says Deborah Denno, a Fordham University law professor who has been studying lethal injection for 20 years, "it's one more knot in the cord, one more indication that this is an incredibly troublesome procedure."

The Humane Execution

AMERICA HAS LONG HAD A CONFLICTED relationship with capital punishment. It maintains the death penalty as a way to deter the most horrendous crimes, but it insists that those criminals are entitled to a dignified end. Hanging—the dominant method of execution throughout the 19th century—was the nation's first attempt to reconcile those goals. It was supplanted by electrocutions in the late 1800s. The advent of the gas chamber in the 1920s was billed as a more modern way to kill cleanly.

At capital punishment's peak in the 1930s, the U.S. was averaging an execution every other day through a combination of the electric chair, the gas chamber and the firing squad. The numbers dropped significantly in the 1950s and 1960s, and executions stopped altogether in 1972 when the Supreme Court found the application of the death penalty unconstitutional. The respite didn't last long.

In 1977, one year after the court reinstated the death penalty, a Utah firing squad made convicted murderer Gary Gilmore the first person put to death by the government in five years. Not long after, an Oklahoma legislator asked Dr. Jay Chapman, the state's chief medical examiner, to find a more humane way to execute prisoners.

Chapman's job was investigating deaths, not causing them, but he felt compelled to respond because he thought there was no reason that we should put animals to death more humanely than people. Within days, Chapman had an idea for an injectable mix of drugs that he thought would do the job as painlessly as possible. His combination of sodium thiopental, pancuronium bromide and potassium chloride wasn't terribly complicated. He merely upped the dosages of what was widely used for general anesthesia.

The formula was never tested or medically reviewed. But Oklahoma legalized its use that year, and every state with capital punishment eventually did the same. "I guess they just blindly followed it," Chapman says. "I had no idea in my wildest flight of fancy that it would've mushroomed into what it did."

More than 1,200 people have since been put to death using the protocol Chapman

PREVIOUS PAGES: KIICHIRO SATO—AP; FROM LEFT: RYAN LOWRY FOR TIME; OHIO DEPARTMENT OF REHABILITATION AND CORRECTION/AP

A grim inheritance *Dennis R. McGuire wearing the watch his father, near left, gave him before his execution*

recommended. But in the early 2000s, anesthesiologists began suspecting that some inmates were awake but paralyzed during their execution. David Lubarsky, an anesthesiologist at the University of Miami, reviewed the postmortem records of 49 executed patients and determined that 21 of them may have been conscious and potentially in excruciating pain as the final drug was administered.

"It wasn't really unexpected," Lubarsky says. "It was that nobody had ever bothered to look."

The findings led to legal challenges against the three-drug protocol that eventually were heard by the Supreme Court in 2008. In *Baze v. Rees*, which addressed the constitutionality of a specific method of execution under the Eighth Amendment, the court upheld the legality of lethal injection, but the ruling prompted some states to rethink their drug protocols. In 2009, Ohio—the only state with a law requiring executions to be quick and painless—began using a single drug for lethal injection: the anesthetic sodium thiopental.

The following year, the Illinois-based drugmaker Hospira halted production of sodium thiopental because of manufacturing problems. After the Italian government prevented Hospira's plant there from manufacturing the drug for U.S. prisons, the company stopped making it altogether. It was a pattern that would repeat many times over with drug companies balking when U.S. prison systems came calling.

When Hospira stopped making sodium thiopental, officials in Ohio decided to use the short-acting barbiturate pentobarbital. But after a series of critical articles in Danish newspapers and a letter signed by 60 doctors and academics in the leading British medical journal the *Lancet*, the drug's Danish manufacturer blocked its sale to U.S. prisons. In Missouri, a similar attempt to buy propofol, the anesthetic that contributed to Michael Jackson's death, was thwarted by its Germany-based maker, Fresenius Kabi.

The accident of geography—many leading drugmakers are based in Europe, and every European state except Belarus outlaws capital punishment—proved devastating for America's system of state-sanctioned killing. "They've closed that door," says Richard Dieter, executive director of the Death Penalty Information Center, which opposes capital punishment. "And that brings us to the current chapter where states are basically experimenting."

Compounding the Problem

TO FILL THE GAP, SOME STATES HAVE turned to compounding pharmacies for their supply of lethal drugs. These private pharmacies, which mix small amounts of drugs to order, are not regulated by the federal government and are only lightly managed by states. Without FDA oversight, the quality of drugs can differ from one pharmacy to another. A 2012 meningitis outbreak that killed 64 people was linked to a contaminated drug supply from one compounding pharmacy in Massachusetts.

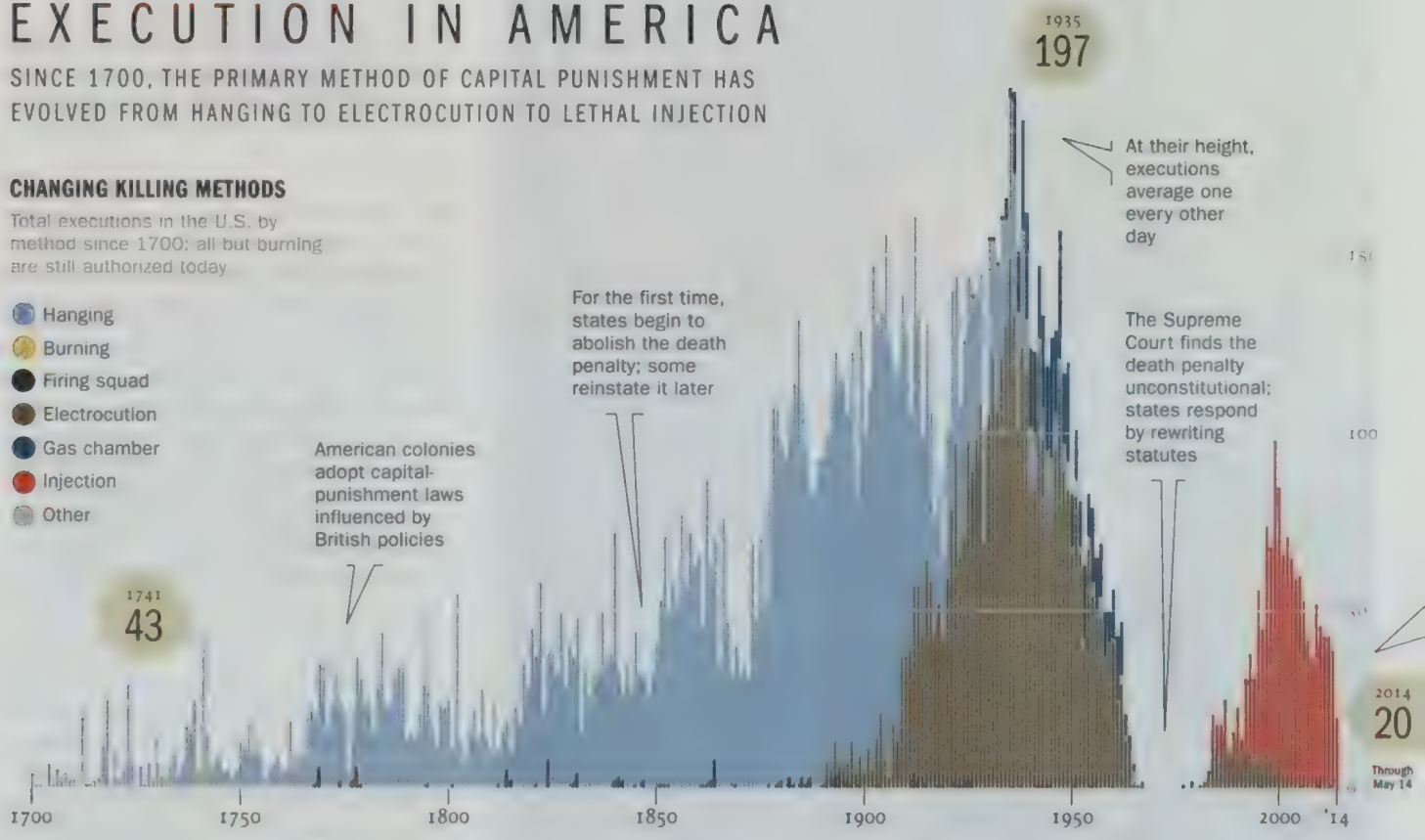
Hospitals typically avoid such sources, but corrections officials don't have the same reservations. At least seven states have obtained execution drugs or announced plans to get them from compounding pharmacies since 2012. But it could be even more. The exact number isn't known: state corrections officials have gone to great lengths to protect the anonymity of their suppliers.

"My impression is there's this whole culture of lethal-injection small talk behind closed doors at night, like a prison official from one state goes and visits another," says Dr. Jonathan Groner, a professor of surgery at the Ohio State University College of Medicine. "There's a lot of secrecy. It's very hard to find out what they're using and how they're getting it."

That's by design. Since 2011, Arkansas, Colorado, Georgia, Oklahoma and South Dakota have enacted laws guaranteeing anonymity to suppliers of lethal-injection drugs, and similar legislation is pending in at least two other states. Georgia's secrecy law was passed after it emerged that the state purchased execution drugs

EXECUTION IN AMERICA

SINCE 1700, THE PRIMARY METHOD OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT HAS EVOLVED FROM HANGING TO ELECTROCUTION TO LETHAL INJECTION



from Dream Pharma, a British compounding pharmacy that operated in the back of a storefront driving school in London. In Texas, the Woodlands Compounding Pharmacy demanded that pentobarbital purchased by the state be returned when its identity was leaked. And Missouri paid $11,000 in cash to obtain pentobarbital from a compounding pharmacy so as not to leave a paper trail.

"There's never been anything like this," says Fordham's Denno. "States have gone haywire in their efforts to perpetuate executions at any cost."

The Dead Man's Dilemma

A WEEK AFTER MCGUIRE'S EXECUTION IN Ohio, his family filed a federal lawsuit against Hospira for selling drugs to the state, arguing that their father's death was cruel and unusual punishment. The suit contends McGuire was deprived of oxygen while he remained conscious as part of a state-sponsored experiment with new forms of lethal injection.

After an internal review, the Ohio department of corrections announced in April that McGuire's execution was "conducted in a constitutional manner" consistent with state policy. But the state said it was upping the dosage of the two drugs it used in all future executions because it "sees no reason not to increase the dosage levels."

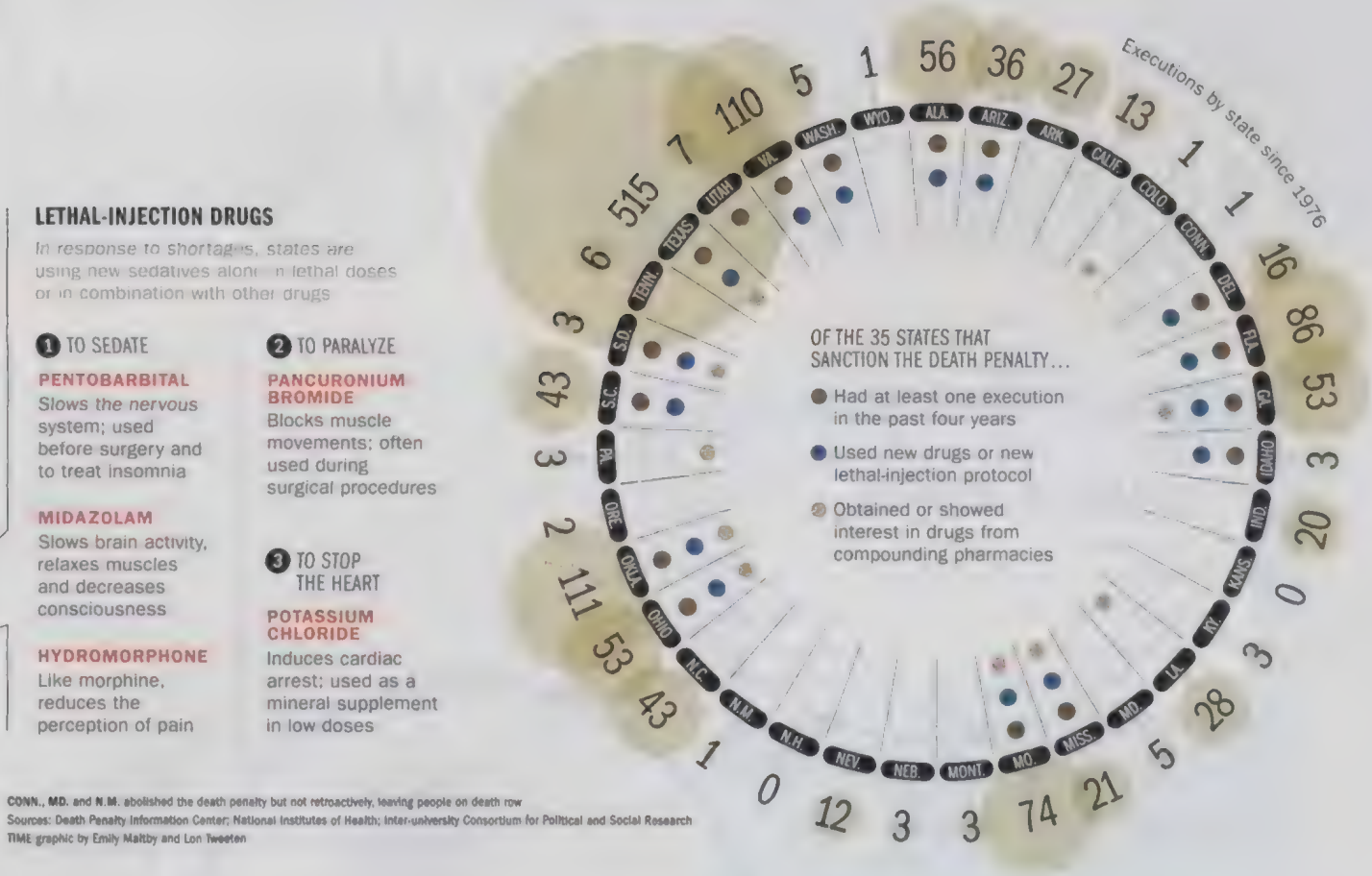
Yet other states are preparing to execute inmates in a similar fashion. Louisiana recently announced it would use the same two-drug combination as Ohio in an upcoming execution, while Virginia plans to include midazolam in a three-drug combination. Oklahoma used the sedative in Lockett's execution.

But even when the results are messy, states have a certain amount of public leeway to tinker with their protocols. After all, the punishment is inflicted on those who've been convicted of doing much worse. Even as Obama called for a review of the death penalty, he made sure to assert society's right to apply it. That's a point on which the majority of Americans agree. Though support for the death penalty has been slowly falling, a recent Pew Research survey found that 63% of U.S. adults approve of capital punishment for convicted murderers.

Nor are those who study lethal injection in agreement over whether these recent instances constitute cruel and unusual punishment. How do you prove pain and suffering when the person who may have experienced it is no longer around to say so?

Dr. David Waisel, a professor of anesthesiology at Harvard Medical School, says that if the drugs had worked the way they were supposed to for McGuire, his execution should have been over in minutes. He says McGuire was likely in pain, which led to his desperate attempts to sit up and breathe. But there are anesthesiologists like Mark Dershwitz of the University of Massachusetts Medical School, who has appeared in court proceedings on behalf of states more than 50 times. In sworn testimony he regularly argues that the doses given to death-row inmates are so high that pain is almost an impossibility.

Dr. Mark Heath, a Columbia University anesthesiologist, says that while the circumstances surrounding the McGuire execution remain murky, he sees it as part of a pattern of executions using midazolam that have gone bad, citing the executions of McGuire, Lockett and William Happ, who was put to death in Florida in October 2013. All three inmates appeared unconscious following an injection of midazolam before moving around when additional drugs were administered.



CONN., MD. and N.M. abolished the death penalty but not retroactively, leaving people on death row
Sources: Death Penalty Information Center; National Institutes of Health; Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research
TIME graphic by Emily Maltby and Lon Tweeten

The McGuire case brings up a problem at the heart of lethal injection: he was never given a paralytic agent, which prevents inmates from moving during the execution. Without it, those viewing McGuire's execution could see what was happening to him as he gasped for breath inside the death chamber.

For years, anesthesiologists like Heath and Lubarsky have argued that a paralytic agent shouldn't be used at all because it prevented anyone from knowing if an inmate was experiencing pain. Without that knowledge, they contend, it is not possible to know if the execution was truly humane. It's possible that hundreds of inmates who have been killed by lethal injection reacted similarly to McGuire. But there is no way to be sure because their deaths were hidden under a fog of paralysis, which gets at the reason why a paralytic agent was included to begin with: It's less for the patient and more for those watching it. It allows the living to walk away thinking that the most severe punishment was delivered as humanely as possible.

In Oklahoma, an investigation is under way to determine how Lockett died in April, but experts say it appears two things happened: the drugs weren't administered correctly, and he wasn't given enough midazolam to induce unconsciousness. Witnesses say Lockett mumbled "Something's wrong" during the execution, and prison officials later said it took almost an hour to find a suitable vein (the IV was eventually placed in his groin). They didn't realize the IV had become dislodged until more than 20 minutes after the execution began.

A Cleaner Way to Kill

PART OF THE PROBLEM IS WHO'S DOING the killing. Leading medical organizations discourage members from participating in executions—it contradicts the Hippocratic oath—so the job often falls to corrections officers, few of whom have training comparable to that of physicians. Nor do prisons execute as many inmates as they used to. Of the 3,088 inmates on death row last year, only 39 were put to death. Says Denno: "They're not executing enough people to get good at it."

When Chapman recommended the three-drug combination in Oklahoma in the 1970s, he says he imagined it would be given by properly trained administrators. In the years since, Chapman's view on the proper protocol has evolved. He now thinks a massive overdose of just one drug—a sedative like thiopental—would be sufficient and much easier for states to administer. Some states are doing just that but with pentobarbital, largely because of the problems obtaining other drugs. Adopting a one-drug protocol could help states avoid some of the problems that have haunted recent executions. A single drug needs only one supplier, and it's much easier for executioners to administer one massive dose than three.

Some politicians, meanwhile, are seeking to return to methods once abandoned as uncivilized. "I think it's more inhumane to have someone strapped to a chair, watching a doctor poke them with a needle 10 times and then watch the drug flow down an IV to put them to sleep like a dog," says Missouri state representative Rick Brattin. "I'm sorry. I find that more inhumane vs. a blindfold and your sentence being carried out by firing squad."

It's more likely that states will work to reform their lethal-injection protocols before reverting to the gun or the noose. But the needle now faces the same problem as the methods that preceded it: what once seemed a humane alternative no longer appears to be. ■

GOOD TO HEAR

SCIENTISTS AND CORPORATE RESEARCHERS ARE WORKING ROUND THE CLOCK TO FIND WAYS TO HELP THE **HARD OF HEARING**.

Can a chicken cure hearing problems?
At first glance that might sound like a preposterous question. But to a consortium of some of the nation's most renowned scientists, the possibility holds out hope and promise for the estimated 50 million Americans affected by hearing loss and tinnitus, the sensation of ringing in the ears.

Chickens and all other animals, with the exception of mammals, have an almost magical way of restoring their hearing by regenerating sensory hair cells in the inner ear. Research with chicks reveals that by regenerating these cells, chickens can actually restore their hearing in a matter of days. Humans can't regenerate hair cells, but the Hearing Restoration Project, funded by the Hearing Health Foundation (HHF), aims to translate what we are learning about birds into a cure for humans.

This is a concept that resonates loud and clear for Shari Eberts, chair of the HHF's board of directors, who began losing her hearing when she was in her 20s. "When I heard about the Hearing Restoration Project, I couldn't believe it," she says. "Amazing. With sufficient funds, we should have clinical trials for a cure for hearing loss and tinnitus in 10 years."

The scientists leading this particular charge come from more than a dozen top universities, including Harvard and Stanford. Their work extends beyond birds to include zebra fish, another species known to regenerate hair cells. The group plans to explore which genes in mammals prevent the natural regeneration of hair cells and how genes play a role in triggering hair cell regeneration, then see if all this can lead to regenerative therapies. With a collective 200 years of experience, they comprise what the HHF refers to as "the dream team of hair cell regeneration."

Minimizing the Impact
As scientists in the U.S. and elsewhere work round the clock to find a cure, a number of companies are engaged in complementary research aimed at developing technologies that minimize the impact of hearing loss. One of the newest innovations is the use of Bluetooth wireless technology in personal amplification devices. An alternative to more expensive hearing aids for those with mild to moderate hearing loss, the new devices are self-programmable and customizable. This makes them especially suitable for use in developing countries, which have few audiologists and where the cost of

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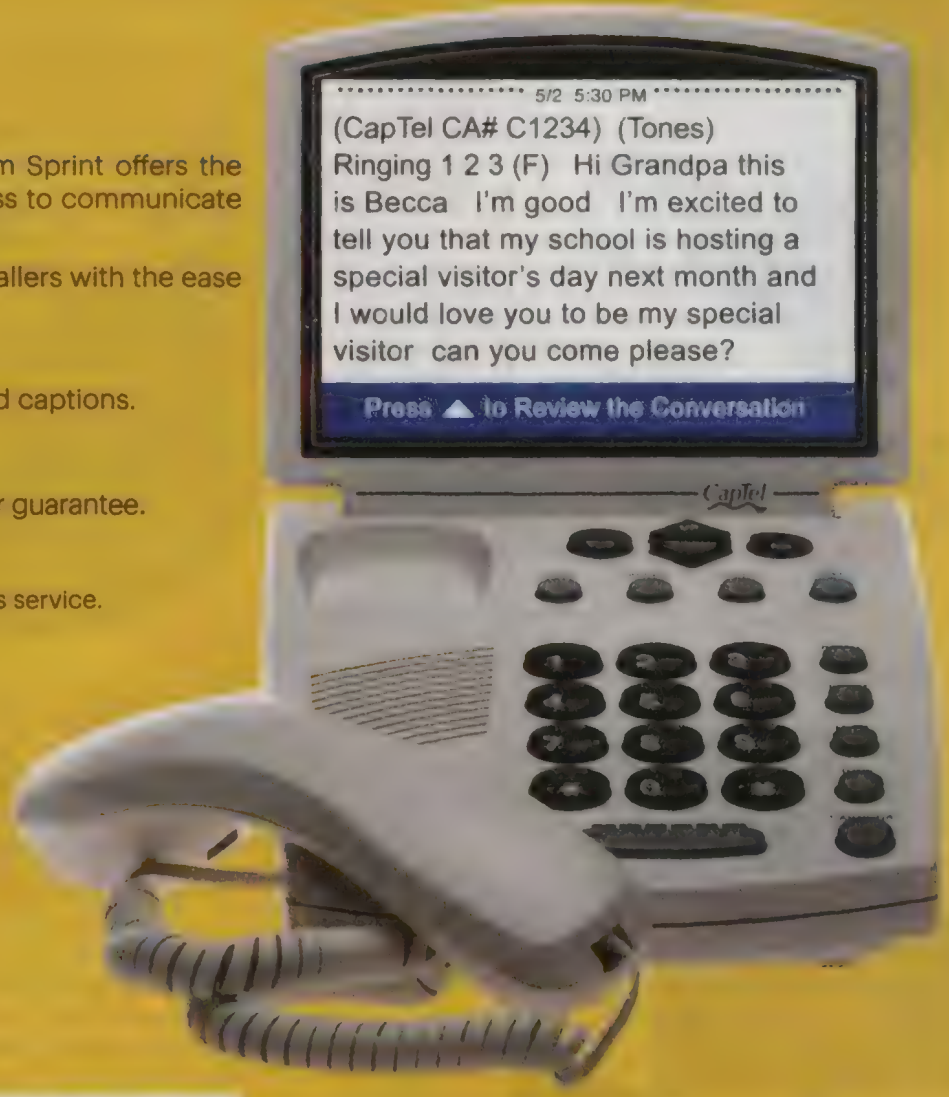

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In the 1940s, if people with hearing loss needed to make a phone call, they had to ask the next-door neighbor to make it for them.

hearing aids is prohibitive.

Kevin Daniels, vice president of sales and marketing at Sound World Solutions, a Park Ridge, Ill. company that produces Bluetooth-based personal sound amplifiers, says his company uses U.S. sales to subsidize philanthropic efforts to distribute the devices at low cost to people in developing countries. "We don't lose sight of the fact that we're a company with a mission," he says.

A new variety of telephone-based services are also improving the lives of the hard of hearing. "In the 1940s, if people with hearing loss needed to make a phone call, they had to ask a hearing family member or next-door neighbor to make it for them," says Mike Ellis, national director for Sprint Relay, which supplies a line of products and services for people with hearing loss and speech disabilities. "Now, many options are available."

One of the most popular for those with mild to moderate hearing loss is captioned telephone service, also known as CapTel. CapTel service displays live, word-for-word captions of everything that a caller says. It is similar to closed captioning on television, only for telephone calls. Captions are provided by an agent using enhanced voice recognition technology. Another version of this service—known as WebCapTel—is available on computers and smartphones.

Telecommunications Relay Service (TRS), like CapTel, is an FCC-funded service that allows people to communicate with the help of a communication assistant. The assistant types a caller's response and relays it back to the person with hearing loss. Like the captioned telephone service, relay services can be accessed through landline telephones.

Sprint Relay offers innovative, accessible solutions that empower people with hearing loss and speech disabilities to make and receive phone calls just like anyone else. "Technology is so friendly and so adaptable, communicating on the telephone is now effortless and empowering," says Ellis.

That's good to hear. At the same time, millions are waiting patiently to see what the scientists working with the Hearing Health Foundation's Hearing Restoration Project—aided and assisted by their friends in the animal kingdom—can do to help them with their hearing problems. To learn more, visit www.hhf.org. ●

TIME

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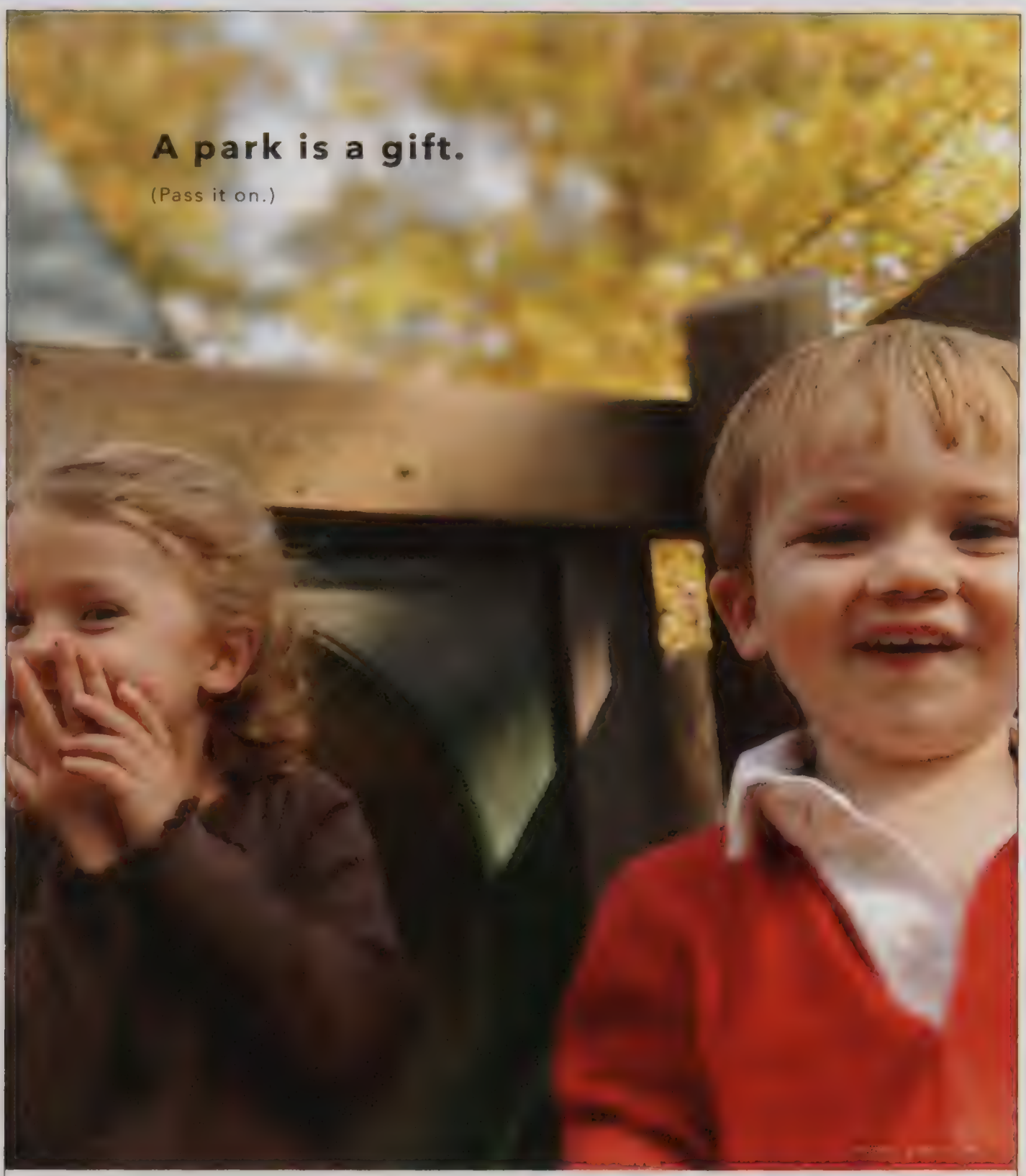

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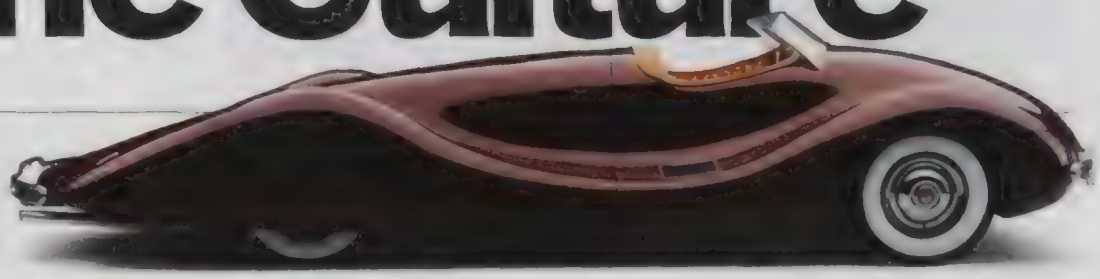
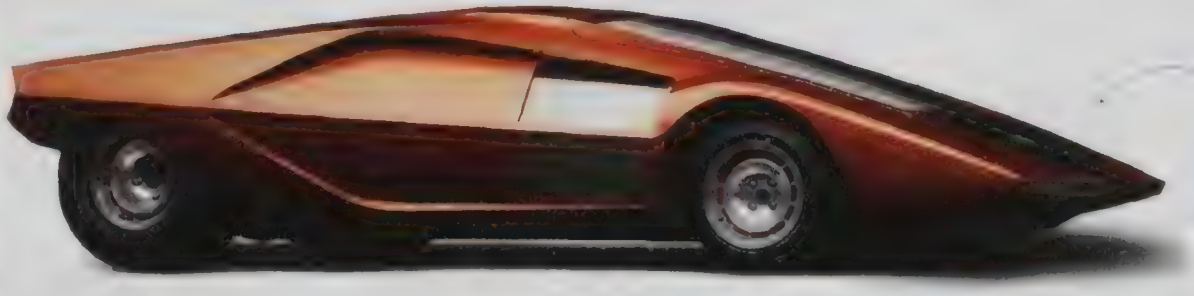
TECH'S LEAN REBELS HAVE BECOME LUCRE-FATTENED, EGO-STROKED OVERLORDS. **PAGE 57**

THE WEEK
GODZILLA RISES FROM THE DEEP

The Culture



The doorless 1947 Norman Timbs Special draped aluminum body panels over a wooden frame



Just 33 in. high, the 1970 Lancia (Bertone) Stratos HF Zero had to be entered through the windshield

The 1955 Chrysler (Ghia) Streamline X "Gilda" took its name from Rita Hayworth's ultimate femme fatale

TIMBS, 1947: DESIGNED BY NORMAN TIMBS; FABRICATED BY EMIL DIEDT—COURTESY GARY CERVENY. STRATOS, 1970: DESIGNED BY MARCELLO GANDINI; FABRICATED BY GRUPPO BERTONE—COURTESY KEI WANG COLLECTION. "GILDA," 1955: DESIGNED BY GIOVANNI SAVONUZZI AND VIRGIL EXNER; FABRICATED BY CARROZZERIA GHIA S.P.A.—COURTESY SCOTTSDALE FORD AND KATHLEEN REDMOND RUDOLPH/NBC

MUSEUMS

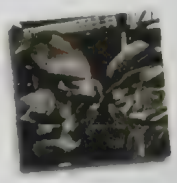
Riding Into the Future

Automobile design usually progresses in first gear through small yearly changes in power trains, taillights and silhouettes. But sometimes designers step on the gas. "Dream Cars: Innovative Design, Visionary Ideas" is a new show at Atlanta's High Museum of Art about the great leaps forward called concept cars—experimental models produced singly or in small batches to explore possibilities for cars of the future. Whether turned out by big automakers or dedicated solo craftsmen, **they were rolling labs for new ideas about styling and engineering.** The High tells their story through drawings, models and 17 actual vehicles the Jetsons would die for.

The exhibition, at Atlanta's High Museum of Art, runs from May 21 to Sept. 7

MUSIC

Deep Roots



Hip-hop outfit (and Jimmy Fallon house band) the Roots release their new project, ***... And Then You Shoot Your Cousin,*** on May 19. A satirical concept album about violence, class and "the Dionysian impulse in contemporary hip-hop," it also samples Nina Simone.

TELEVISION

Rudolph Returns

The *Saturday Night Live* alumna indulges her love of old-school variety hours with ***The Maya Rudolph Show,*** a one-off comedy special airing May 19 and featuring appearances by Andy Samberg, Fred Armisen, Kristen Bell and musical guest Janelle Monáe.

BOOKS

Prizefighter

Best-selling author Edward St. Aubyn, who was short-listed for the Man Booker Prize in 2006, takes on the literary community in ***Lost for Words.*** The novel spends a year with the self-serving judges and desperate writers taking part in the fictional Elysian Prize.

Remains of the Day

At the 9/11 museum, history is preserved in memories and debris

By Richard Lacayo

ONLY A PORTION OF THE NEW 9/11 MEMORIAL Museum, the entry pavilion, extends aboveground, but right away it says something about the mission of this museum. Don't go expecting a serene, classical foyer. On the outside, the building is a network of diagonal bands of steel and glass. Inside, it leaves visible an irregular web of crisscrossing truss work. Though it has its decorative purposes, that jangling matrix signals from the start that this is a museum that must acknowledge a historic upheaval, a rupture in the fabric of time.

And with that it offers the first hint of how the museum, which opens to the public May 21, differs from the nearby 9/11 Memorial. With its reflecting pools and waterfalls, the memorial is designed to commemorate the dead and console the living. The museum does that in places too, beautifully sometimes, but it has a more complicated job—reopening the wound. The museum's director, Alice M. Greenwald, knows something about institutions that must confront painful subjects. Before coming to the job in 2006, she spent nearly two decades at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. But even that museum was located far from the Nazi death camps where the atrocities took place. The 9/11 museum is different. It's built on the scene of the crime.

Like every other project at Ground Zero, from the time it was first proposed about eight years ago, the National September 11 Memorial Museum—to use its official name—has weathered occasional turmoil. There was the fight over whether it should display photographs of the hijackers. The compromise is small head shots mounted below eye level. Then members of 17 families filed suit against the city of New York when they learned that unidentified remains of the dead—about 14,000 bits of bone and dried tissue fragments—would be placed in a repository in the museum building. The suit failed, and the remains were solemnly delivered earlier this month to a room at the museum, one closed to the public and hidden behind a large wall.

There's also an ongoing controversy over a short film in one gallery that tries to explain the ideology of the attackers. An interfaith panel of clergy assembled by the museum says the film doesn't do enough to make clear the distinction between al-Qaeda-inspired terrorism and the beliefs shared by the great majority of Muslims.

Then there's the admission fee for most visitors—a hefty $24, though the museum will also be free for three hours every Tuesday after 5 p.m. To subsidize its roughly $700 million construction cost, the museum received $330 million in federal and New York State funds. The rest came from private donations; both the museum and memorial are owned and operated by a nonprofit foundation. But so far it has no commitment for government help to cover an estimated $65 million a year in operating costs.

The disputes will go on, but meanwhile the

Two 80-ft. (24 m) "tridents" from the World Trade Center's facade rise through the glass-enclosed atrium of the museum's entry pavilion, with its crisscrossing steel truss work. The stairway leads down to the mostly underground museum

Photograph by Floto+Warner for TIME

The Survivors' Stairs were an escape route used by many people on 9/11. At the museum, they have been installed alongside the final stretch of the ramp by which visitors make their way down to the exhibition galleries

The remains of Ladder 3, which carried 11 firefighters to the scene on the morning of the attacks. All of them died in the collapse of the towers

museum is finally here, and as many as 2.5 million people are expected to visit in its first year. The entry pavilion, which was designed by Snohetta, a firm headquartered in Oslo and New York City, is where they will pass through security, a ritual that is itself a legacy of 9/11. It's also where they will see the first scorched remains from Ground Zero. Minoru Yamasaki, the architect of the Twin Towers, sat his very modern steel cartons on a palisade of pointed Gothic arches. Now a linked pair of those "tridents," with their muscle memory of the cathedrals that inspired them, are planted in the glass atrium of the entry building. Standing 80 ft. (24 m) tall, they rise past the mezzanine level, which holds an auditorium and a private room for 9/11 families.

Everything beyond the entry pavilion, meaning the greater part of the museum and its 110,000 sq. ft. (10,200 sq m) of exhibition space, is the work of a New York City–based firm, Davis Brody Bond. From the entry, visitors will descend like Orpheus into the underworld, because almost all the museum is underground, directly beneath the twin pools of the 9/11 Memorial. Very directly: the below-ground expression of the memorial's sunken basins, nearly 70 ft. (21 m) deep, plunge through the museum's ceiling, ending 14 ft. (4 m) above its lowest floor.

The architects have turned that space invasion into a poetic opportunity. They covered the giant intrusions in thin panels of silvery foamed aluminum, a material created by forcing gas into the metal at high pressure. Like the memorial pools, which occupy the original footprint of the towers, the evanescent shafts now become a symbolic remembrance of the Twin Towers, this time in almost weightless terms. At least until visitors enter the enclosed exhibition galleries directly below the shafts, at every turn they see the ghost of the lost towers.

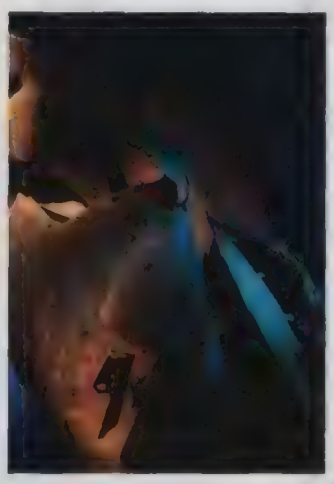
There are also real remnants of the towers in this space. On the floor beneath the aluminum-clad volumes, along the perimeter each would form if it rested on the ground, are the remains of the steel box columns that supported the outer walls of the towers. When the last of the Ground Zero debris was cleared away, those columns were sawed off at ground level. Now they have the haunting character of ancient ruins.

In effect there are two museums here. The first is the concrete-walled monumental space that visitors descend into by way of a long ramp with a switchback path. A processional corridor with a gentle slope, that ramp subtly references the one that was used for years by recovery and construction workers, as well as the families of the dead, to enter the Ground Zero pit. Along that path, visitors pass through changing vistas of concrete walls and corridors and even catch glimpses of exposed Manhattan bedrock below. That vast introductory space all around them has a weight and solemnity commensurate with the tragedy it speaks to.

There aren't many objects in this part of the museum. The few you see are mostly huge and semiabstract: a twisted length of steel mounted high on an otherwise

PHOTO: WARNER FOR TIME (5)

A twisted fragment of steel from the north tower testifies to the immense heat and pressure of the World Trade Center collapse



Some of the massive artifacts salvaged from the towers almost have the appearance of abstract sculpture, like the 10,000-lb. (4,500 kg) elevator motor at right

This pay phone, found in the wreckage at Ground Zero, was once installed on the 107th-floor observation deck of the south tower, more than a quarter-mile above the street

bare wall like a warped crucifix; a mangled fire truck; an immense shredded cylinder that was part of the broadcasting antenna that topped the north tower.

Steven M. Davis, one of the museum's architects, says his team was guided by four principles: "memory, authenticity, scale and emotion." In that outer zone you sense those precepts in action. This is architecture reaching for the ambition of Daniel Libeskind's profound Jewish Museum in Berlin, where in places the building itself, more than any exhibit it contains, is what conveys feeling and meaning. The 9/11 museum does that best in what's called the Foundation Hall, a resounding space bordered along one side by an exposed portion of the slurry wall, the mighty barrier that held back the Hudson River after the towers came down, preventing a flood that would have inundated lower Manhattan. In the raw crescendo of that chamber, with its majestic battered bulwark, the museum can feel like the ancient Roman Forum. The Foundation Hall also holds what's known as the Last Column, an upright 36-ft. (11 m) steel pier covered with inscriptions, mementos and MISSING posters. When it was removed from the pit on May 30, 2002, it marked the end of the nine-month Ground Zero cleanup.

Having reached the Foundation Hall, most visitors will move into the enclosed exhibition rooms, the second museum, beneath where the north tower stood. If the outer museum is stark and quiet, these spaces are where the noise of history takes over. They're filled with videos, old newscasts and audio recollections and are crowded with items from the museum's more than 10,000 artifacts, most still trailing their residue of grief. And where the outer museum has an almost timeless feel, in the first galleries, devoted to the day of the attack, time collapses into a single day. A wall-mounted timeline flows from room to room to mark crucial developments. Because the times are printed behind lenticular lenses, the minutes appear to evaporate as you walk by, moments we can no longer repair, an irretrievable past.

Later galleries step back to chart the rise of al-Qaeda and forward to the recovery process and the long legacy of 9/11. Below where the south tower stood is a memorial to the nearly 3,000 who died at Ground Zero, at the Pentagon, in the crash of Flight 93 in Pennsylvania and in the first attack on the Trade Center in 1993. Rank after rank of equal-size head shots cover all four walls. Tabletop touchscreen computers are available for visitors to call up information, photos and audio remembrances for each of the victims.

For many, that gallery will be the last they see before they return to the surface, to a view of the memorial and those consoling waterfalls. The completion of the museum is an important moment in the imperfect reclamation of Ground Zero, a place where years ago grief swept the table and which is slowly coming back to life. You could say that every visitor will now be a kind of recovery worker, returning the site to normality simply by being there, helping in a small way to take back that haunted space. ■

Books

Augustus Herring, who later joined forces with a rival of the Wright brothers', Glenn Curtiss, tests a Herring-Chanute glider in 1896

Surly Bonds. A history of early U.S. aviation reveals bitter rivalries

By Lev Grossman

THE EARLY AMERICAN AVIATOR JOHN MOISANT WAS THE SCION of a wealthy family with extensive sugar plantations in El Salvador. In 1909, having tried on three separate occasions to actually invade and conquer El Salvador, Moisant turned to an only marginally less dangerous hobby: flying. He bought a plane and—on the strength of a couple of months' flying experience—landed it, uninvited, in the middle of an air show in Paris in front of 250,000 people. Supernaturally handsome and supremely fearless, Moisant rapidly became one of the most famous flyers in the world. Orville and Wilbur Wright hated him.

Birdmen, by Lawrence Goldstone, is a meticulously researched account of the first few hectic, tangled years of aviation and the curious characters who pursued it, with a particular focus on the Wright brothers and their rivalry with fellow pioneer Glenn Curtiss. The Wrights live on in the popular imagination as American heroes: humble, self-made Midwestern prodigies of know-how and gumption. And they were all that. But as it turns out, that's not all they were.

Growing up in Dayton, Ohio, the Wrights dropped out of high school to pursue careers first as printers, then as bicycle-makers and finally as aspiring aviators. Coming from the bicycle trade, Wilbur (the master theorist and true genius of the two) "understood almost by instinct that stability, not propulsion or even lift, was the crucial element of flight." Working with little encouragement or support, they met failure after failure with dizzying leaps of insight and an iron resolve.

That unbending disposition was a product of their upbringing: their father was a bishop in a Christian splinter sect. It served them well in their work and poorly everywhere else. They believed themselves to be the true fathers of powered flight. As soon as they could, they patented their work and started suing the bejeezus out of anybody who came near it. Wilbur summed up their position in 1910: "We made the art of flying and all the people in it have us to thank for it."

They had plenty of targets. The Wrights' success kicked off a veritable aerial stampede. Curtiss, another graduate of the bicycle-repair school of engineering, was the most conspicuously gifted of the Americans, and he had the backing of no less an eminence than Alexander Graham Bell. (Bell's own early aircraft was a massive kite constructed from 3,393 red silk tetrahedrons; its only flight ended in a crash.) But the Wrights' obsession with their patents stifled innovation, and it was years before the American airplane industry recovered.

Meanwhile, aviation left the Wrights behind. They all but ceased their engineering efforts, and their Wright Flyers became more and more obsolete. It didn't help that the business of flying quickly became the province of flashy daredevils like Moisant, who competed in air shows for huge cash prizes. The stiff, sober Wrights were hardly media-genic.

All this very earthbound wrangling stands in stark contrast to the transcendent exuberance of those first few forays into the air. In its power to evoke an age when flying meant terror and exhilaration, not cramped seating and bad food, *Birdmen* is a worthy companion to Richard Holmes' marvelous history of ballooning, *Falling Upwards*. "The modern aviator has no conception of what those early planes were like," one pilot wrote. "The stability was nil—flying them felt like sitting on the top of an inverted pendulum ready to fall off to either side at any moment." Many of them did. By the end of 1910, less than a year after his first flight, Moisant died in a crash near New Orleans. ■

Flight risk
The first fatal air crash in the U.S. occurred in 1908; in the years immediately afterward, a pilot died approximately every 10 days

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Tuned In

Computer Programs. Prime time finds drama (and absurdity) in the tech world

By James Poniewozik

IN "THE MONOLITH," A RECENT EPISODE of *Mad Men*, Sterling Cooper & Partners is invaded by a massive mainframe IBM computer, throwing the agency into a whirl of anxiety. Like the humanoids in *2001: A Space Odyssey*, the mortals of SC&P gape at an impassive slab that may transmute everything. The year is 1969, and Neil Armstrong will soon walk on the moon. But maybe, the episode suggests, this landing was the more giant leap. After all, we haven't been back to the moon in more than 40 years; we revisit Facebook every five minutes.

Mad Men isn't the only current TV series to acknowledge tech's power. The '80s spy drama *The Americans* focuses on the Internet's military precursor, Arpanet; on *Veep*, presidential hopeful Selina Meyer makes a pilgrimage to Silicon Valley to genuflect before its money; sharp-minded legal drama *The Good Wife* has become a stealth tech-industry drama, building cases inspired by Bitcoin and metadata. The tech biz is also the main subject of two new cable series, parallel processing how computers have rewired us.

The AMC drama *Halt and Catch Fire* (premiering June 1) is set in 1983, the early PC era, when the monolith was moving out of its glass-walled office and into your living room. Joe MacMillan (Lee Pace), a mysterious salesman, arrives at the sleepy Texas firm Cardiff Electric with a plan to kick the company to the next level, whether it wants to be kicked or not. His aim is to reverse engineer an IBM PC knockoff—high risk, high reward, highly illegal—so he recruits Cardiff techie Gordon Clark (Scoot McNairy), whom he sees as the Wozniak to his Jobs. Gordon has the brains; Joe has the chutzpah. With that combination, how can you lose?

The pilot of *Halt* is sometimes ham-handed; it opens with Joe's sports car running over an armadillo, a be-fast-or-be-roadkill metaphor that lands with the weight of a UNIVAC. But it's captivating when showing the nearly religious fervor of people who believe they're on the cusp of a new era. Pace plays Joe as Don Draper with a chrome-plated '80s makeover: cunning, swaggery, pitching clients by appealing to their insecurities. "Nobody ever got fired for buying an IBM," he says. "What a fearful way to do business. You want to be more, don't you?"

On some level, Joe believes the BS he's spreading, or at least that it could fertilize a new age. In 1983, people building what would become multibillion-dollar companies could plausibly see themselves as rebels fighting the Death Star. It may not be coincidence that the hotshot punk-rock programmer (Mackenzie Davis) whom Joe recruits looks like the young woman who hurled a hammer through Big Brother in the "1984" Macintosh ad.

Today, good luck building a hammer big enough to dent Apple and its peers. The HBO comedy *Silicon Valley* (whose first season ends the night *Halt* premieres) has proved the perfect satire for Tech 2014, which has gone from hardware to software, infancy to omnipotence, drama to farce. The story focuses on Richard Hendricks (Thomas Middleditch), a sweet, nebbishy programmer who develops a powerful "compression algorithm" that shrinks data files. Rather than sell out to a software giant, he launches a startup with a group of misfit friends, embarking on a raunchy, hilarious tour of the boom-and-bust world of smart people chasing dumb money.

Silicon Valley comes from Mike Judge, who satirized the MTV generation in *Beavis and Butt-Head*, corporations in *Office Space* and consumerism in *Idiocracy*. There's a run of sight gags in the series about ambitious tech that doesn't quite work—holograms, driverless cars, microdrones—but it's sharpest at attacking the valley's utopian moral hubris. Over and over, entrepreneurs repeat the mantra "We're making the world a better place ..." even if that sentence ends "... through software-defined data centers for cloud computing."

The "cloud" in *Silicon Valley* stands for this new elite's lofty self-opinion. The June 1 season finale—which includes an elaborate dirty joke involving math and a whiteboard—is the perfect bookend to *Halt*, showing how tech's lean rebels have become lucre-fattened, ego-stroked overlords. In *Halt*, Joe tells Gordon they're creating something bigger: "Computers aren't the thing. They're the thing that gets us to the thing." In *Silicon Valley*, we've gotten to that thing. It's a cloud stuffed with $1,000 bills. ■

SILICON VALLEY: HBO; HALT AND CATCH FIRE: AMC

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Reviews

MUSIC

Tragic Magic. Coldplay has a new brand of heartache

By Jamieson Cox

COLDPLAY BECAME THE BIGGEST ROCK BAND IN THE WORLD, just as the very concept began to seem antiquated, by distilling the sound of their ancestors and critically feted contemporaries into hypermelodic, stadium-size anthems. Their sixth studio album, *Ghost Stories*, finds them once again employing that sonic approach but with different source material. Much of the album sounds like Coldplay's take on an acclaimed vein of gentle, emotionally vulnerable music that explores the overlapping realms of rock, R&B and electronic sounds: Bon Iver's warped woodsy hymns, James Blake's throbbing confessionals, the xx's muted pillow talk. (There is one outlier, a pounding quasi-EDM collaboration with the popular producer Avicii; it reeks of pandering.) Chris Martin's signature nimble, soft falsetto pairs well with this new, adjusted direction, though the heightened focus on groove and piano-based melody marginalizes the dependable contributions of lead guitarist Jonny Buckland. Gleaming six-string hooks of the sort that anchored the best songs on the band's first few albums are few and far between here.

But for all the sonic shifts that take place on *Ghost Stories*, the album's greatest break from Coldplay's tradition is lyrical. Martin is never one to shy away from a platitude, and his recent "conscious uncoupling" from his wife, actress Gwyneth Paltrow, has inspired his rawest, most personal writing to date. Yet while the dissolution of his marriage makes for compelling fodder, his lyrics aren't always able to convey the heartbreak or nuance the situation demands. It's only when his voice and the melodies that make up *Ghost Stories* are able to bear the emotional weight that the album achieves the resonance that made its predecessors world-beating hits.

THEATER

Lady Sings the Booze for Tony

Can Audra McDonald be stopped? The acclaimed Broadway actress has already won five Tony Awards and has a strong chance to pick up a sixth for playing Billie Holiday in the revival of *Lady Day at Emerson's Bar & Grill*. Lanie Robertson's 1986 play is a re-creation of one of Holiday's last shows at a Philadelphia club just months before her death in 1959. It's not much of a play, merely an extended monologue in which Holiday, between songs, gives a rambling account of the abuse, racism and addiction that plagued her life. There's something a little surefire, even patronizing, about Broadway's most operatic star playing a wasted jazz singer trying to hold it together through a haze of booze and heroin. But McDonald is totally convincing, and her reproduction of Holiday's delicate, croaky, emotionally charged singing voice is downright uncanny. If not one of the great performances in Broadway history, it's certainly one of the great impersonations. —RICHARD ZOGLIN

MOVIES

Are You Off to See the Lizard? Think again. This *Godzilla* is a dud

By Richard Corliss

SOMETIMES, THE PERFECT VERSION of a two-hour movie is its two-minute trailer. The teasers for *Godzilla*, the Hollywood update of a Japanese monster movie dating back to 1954, revealed just glimpses of the dinosaur's scaly body amid a ravaged San Francisco, plus the doomsday alert of a scientist played by Bryan Cranston: "You have no idea what's coming!"

"No idea" is right. The smart, creepy disaster movie the trailers promised somehow went missing in director Gareth Edwards' dawdling feature film. The Big G looks imposing in his prehistoric majesty, but we rarely get a clear view of him; he should have arrived at noon, not at night.

Godzilla isn't even the main monster; that is the M.U.T.O., a giant insect that feeds on radioactivity and is meant to scare all those who champion nuclear power as a source of energy. To push home its political point, Max Borenstein's script invokes Hiroshima, the U.S.S. *Nautilus*, the '50s H-bomb tests in Nevada and the 2011 earthquake and tsunami that devastated Japan. See, the monsters' attack is all mankind's fault. Bad us.

A movie whose creatures have power but no personality needs a human element. That's also lacking here, as the scientist's grown son Ford (Aaron Taylor-Johnson) goes through the rote heroics of saving the world while minding a few lost children. There's zero emotional investment in this *Godzilla*—an enticing package with no compelling product inside. For the real deal, watch the trailers.

COLDPLAY: KENNETH BACHOR. GODZILLA: WARNER BROS.; MCDONALD: EUGENIA EYSEEVA

Pop Chart

LOVE IT

Wu-Tang Clan's über-exclusive new album—there is only one copy—**features vocals from Cher.**

The **Power Rangers are morphing back into relevance:** Lionsgate announced it will produce a live-action film based on the popular '90s kids' show.

Prince William was spotted **flying to Dallas in coach** from a friend's wedding in Memphis. Royalty—they're just like us.

According to a U.K. study, swearing is a **"harmless emotional release"** that may actually help people feel more resilient. Hell, yeah!

VERBATIM

'You need to calm the f-ck down. You don't want to constantly be a GIF.'

JENNIFER LAWRENCE, to *Marie Claire*, on what she tells herself in order to avoid becoming overexposed—though as she admits, "I can't not photo-bomb somebody if it's a good opportunity"

CANNES YOU SEE ME NOW? *The Cannes Film Festival—which runs May 14–25 this year—is known for being a spectacle, and the promotional materials are no exception. Case in point: this giant canvas version of the festival's official poster, which uses a picture of Marcello Mastroianni in Federico Fellini's 8½. The classic film screened at Cannes*

THE DIGITS

355

Number of selfies taken during one hour in Miami's South Beach by Mark E. Miller, a new Guinness World Record; in order to secure the title, Miller had to include a different person in each photo he snapped—presumably without pausing to pick a filter

ROUNDUP

Shows Inspired by #Social #Media

ABC's forthcoming comedy *Selfie*—about a 20-something woman who'd rather be liked online than in life—may be the latest TV series spawned by social media, but it's certainly not the first. Here, a look at how others have fared.

INSTAGRAM

#RichKids of Beverly Hills

The hit E! reality series (starring retail heiress Dorothy Wang) was inspired by Rich Kids of Instagram, a blog dedicated to the photo app's most over-the-top millennials

TUMBLR

20-Nothings

The creator of GIF blog #hollywood-assistants sold this comedy to CBS in 2012; it has yet to materialize

TWITTER

$#*! My Dad Says

The short-lived CBS sitcom (starring William Shatner) was loosely based on a Twitter feed of the same name

TWITTER

Shh ... Don't Tell Steve

CBS began developing the series—inspired by a guy who secretly tweeted the drunken antics of his roommate using @shhdontellsteve—but chose not to go forward with it

FACEBOOK

I F-cking Love Science

The Science Channel is developing a show (executive-produced by Craig Ferguson) based on the popular Facebook page

CHER: GETTY IMAGES; #RICHKIDS: E!; STATUE: KARA WALKER—PHOTO: JASON WYCHE; COURTESY CREATIVE TIME; KASHI: TARA JOHNSON FOR TIME; INSECT: BERNARD SCHURIAN; HAMM: TAYLOR HILL—GETTY IMAGES; SHATNER: GETTY IMAGES; CANNES: ERIC GAILLARD—REUTERS; POWER RANGER: EVERETT

DOMINO EFFECT *It's easy to forget that the origins of the U.S.'s modern obsession with sugar are linked to slavery and unpaid sugar-farming labor—which is part of the reason artist Kara Walker created this giant sugarcoated stat ue, which opened to the public on May 10 in New York City's defunct Domino Sugar Factory. Her take on the ancient sphinx draws on imagery from racist stereotypes about black women, challenging the viewer to confront them.*

QUICK TALK

Jon Hamm

The *Mad Men* star, 43, is suiting up again—this time for the lead in *Million Dollar Arm* (out May 16), the true story of a sports agent who travels to India in search of a cricket player he can turn into a Major League Baseball star. Here, he talks to TIME.
—LILY ROTHMAN

You're a noted Cardinals fan. What are your feelings on cricket? I did get into it, and right after we finished *[Million Dollar Arm]*, I shot something in the U.K., and they were having a big cricket tournament called the Ashes, so I watched that. It's an interesting game. **Can you explain it to me?** It's the pastoral, upper-class relative of baseball. Most games in the world nowadays are judged by clocks and minutes and quarters and halftime. This is a very different, leisurely pastime.

Hamm's favorite shows include *Louie*, *Veep* and *Key and Peele*

You make it sound so poetic! Well, thanks. **Do you play?** I play baseball. I'm on a team here in L.A. It's a bunch of older guys at varying levels of skill. **Which position do you play?** Catcher and right field. **How much is your arm worth?** Not much. You could probably get change from a 20. **I want to ask about *Mad Men*, but the show keeps things so close to the vest. Do you have a spoiler-deflection tactic?** I don't know how we got this rubric of being the *one* show [that's anti-spoiler]. I don't think *The Good Wife* was like, "Josh Charles dies this year. Anyway, tune in and look for it!" I'm usually as honest as I can be without ruining it. **Do you follow any of the fan conspiracy theories?** I get told about them by people who want an opinion on them, but I don't seek them out. I find that if you dig too deeply on the Internet, you're only going to get your feelings hurt.

Kellogg's will **stop using "all natural" and "nothing artificial" labels** on select Kashi products, settling a lawsuit that challenges those claims.

Solange Knowles, a.k.a. Beyoncé's sister, **attacked Jay Z in an elevator,** reportedly because he wouldn't get her friends into a party.

A newly described wasp species that **stings its insect prey in the brain** was dubbed *Ampulex dementor*, after the soul-sucking *Harry Potter* creature.

Students at a California high school were **busted for running a prom draft,** in which boys paid to pick girls in rounds.

FOR TIME'S COMPLETE TV, FILM AND MUSIC COVERAGE, VISIT **time.com/entertainment**

By Kelly Conniff, Eric Dodds, Nolan Feeney, Lily Rothman and Laura Stampler

Joel Stein

Ice, Ice, Laszlo

How my son—traumatized by the *Frozen* soundtrack—learned to let it go

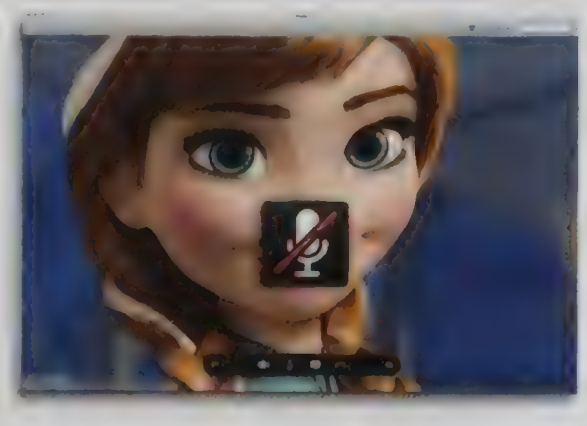
A FEW WEEKS AGO, WHEN my lovely wife Cassandra picked up our 5-year-old son from preschool, he ran to her crying, his hands over his ears. Through his tears, he yelled, "They're singing the *Frozen* song!" She comforted him and drove him to his art class, where 10 minutes in, the girls in class started singing "Let It Go" from the *Frozen* soundtrack. His drawing that day looked surprisingly similar to *Guernica*.

There is no adult equivalent to the cultural assault Laszlo is enduring. Girls walk around dressed like Princess Anna; his teacher plays the soundtrack in his music class; it's the song to one of the routines in his Saturday dance class; his Muppets Pandora radio station has been deeply infiltrated. Whenever we go to a friend's house, their kids want to put on the movie before dinner and play with *Frozen* toys after dinner. Imagine if the moment it was time for lunch, your co-workers screamed, "Pretend I'm Solomon Northup and you're all my slave owners for the next 12 years!" You'd complain about going in to the office. And you're not nearly as tolerant as Laszlo. You, for instance, wouldn't stay at a job where every so often one of your co-workers bites you.

As a film critic, Laszlo is slightly un-informed, since he has never seen *Frozen* and refuses to. Which is strange, since from the 15 minutes I've seen, it seems delightful and funny, and Laszlo loves musicals, and the songs were co-written by one of Broadway's greatest, funniest composers. When I asked Laszlo exactly why he hated it, all he could say was "It's got, like, dresses in it. I don't like dresses. And there's, like, princesses, and I don't like princesses. I like cars-and-trucks things. I don't like a castle with a princess near it."

But the real problem isn't the princesses: it's the ubiquity. It is the only thing he's ever said he "hates." The film even inspired his first pang of nostalgia. "It was perfect when that movie didn't come out," he said.

Laszlo's *Frozen*-inflicted pain became so acute that he started demanding answers about why the film was made. So we Skyped with Kristen Bell, who plays *Frozen*'s Princess Anna. Although Laszlo was shy at first, he eventually told Kristen that he did not like her movie at all. She said she had never heard that, since kids who seek her out to talk about *Frozen* all tell her the opposite. "It didn't occur to me that young people might find it annoying to hear over and over again. But of course they would. Because anything that oversaturates the market does," she said. "I would have thought adults would have gotten annoyed before the kids, because kids have less of a barometer because they can be so repetitive." Exactly. This is the same boy who for over a year has demanded that after his nightly bath, I pretend that I believe his body, wrapped in a towel on the floor, is an egg I want to eat, which then hatches, making him giggle wildly. It is my *Frozen* song.



After realizing she couldn't win him over, Kristen magnanimously congratulated Laszlo on taking a stand against her livelihood. Then she went back to promotion. "Funnily enough, you're sticking with the theme of the movie that everyone should be different and unique," she said. He gave her a look that said, "Funnily enough, $1.2 billion in the worldwide box office shows your theme is bullsh-t."

Laszlo asked Kristen if she knew when she made it that the movie would take over kids' lives. "I did not know that people would not let it go. No pun intended," she said. Laszlo laughed, despite the fact that he has no idea what a pun is. Kristen told Laszlo that she doesn't go around singing *Frozen* songs, which he was glad to hear. And while she couldn't promise him she wouldn't make any more *Frozen* movies, she said she hadn't been asked yet. "So far you're in luck, sir," she told him. Laszlo, who has lived in Hollywood his whole life, wasn't buying it.

Eventually, Laszlo got down to his main question: What should he do when girls sing "Let It Go"? "Maybe you should introduce a different song," she suggested, like "Good Morning," one of his favorite songs from *Singin' in the Rain*, which Kristen says she sings to her daughter every morning.

"They're going to sing the *Frozen* song right when I'm singing it. So I don't know what to do," Laszlo said. "They're just going to keep playing *Frozen*. They're not going to stop. Even if someone tells them to stop, they're not going to stop. It's going to last my whole life."

"I don't think so," Kristen said. He shook his head, nonplussed by her naiveté. "It will," he said. "Even when I'm a grownup."

After our call, Laszlo said Kristen was very nice and had a good singing voice and made him feel a little better because she gave him good ideas about solving his big problem. When I asked if he was going to tell the kids at school that he talked to Princess Anna, he said no. "I won't tell them because then they'll talk about *Frozen*," he said. I just gave him a hug. You can protect your kids from only so much in this world. ■

DISNEY; ILLUSTRATION BY TOMASZ WALENTA FOR TIME

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10 Questions

Free of Washington, Geithner now has more time to surf on his long board

Treasury Secretary during the Great Recession, Timothy Geithner tells us why he didn't string up the bankers

The economy is growing. Unemployment is falling. Why is everyone so unhappy?
It was a terrible crisis, and you can still feel the damage all across the country. We're still living with the scars.

You wrote in *Stress Test*, "It's never been my goal in life to get a big Washington job." What went wrong?
When your President asks you to serve, you have to say yes. You do. I tried to talk him out of it, and I wanted to make sure he understood what he was getting.

And what was he getting?
I'd spent my life dealing with a range of financial crises around the world. So he was getting someone who was not a politician, not a banker, not an economist, but I did have the unfortunate but very valuable experience of watching countries deal with pretty bad financial crises.

Crises in Mexico, Thailand, Indonesia, South Korea, Russia—are you Dr. Doom?
I learned something valuable at the beginning, which is how fragile financial systems are, how connected they are to the economy, how hard it is to separate a trauma in a financial system from trauma in the economy, how hard it is to protect the average person from financial panics.

You write about avoiding retribution against bankers, yet people are angry. Why didn't you go for a head on a stake just for show?
I try to explain that what it takes to protect people from a panic is really the opposite of what feels fair or just or effective. It's a paradoxical thing. It's perfectly understandable people wanted a measure of justice.

The left sees you as a Wall Street lackey, and the right sees you as a socialist bailout artist. How did you see yourself through all of this?
The things we were doing and the things we knew were the most important things to do—they were going to be deeply unpopular on the right and the left. There was no national constituency for those things.

Millions of people lost their homes. Was there something different that you could have done?
The President was putting enormous pressure on us. And we looked at every idea, but the scale of this problem was just massive in comparison to the tools we had, the resources we had. I feel like we used those tools as effectively as we could.

The rich today have more wealth than Gilded Age robber barons. Do we need more progressive taxation or income redistribution?
If you look at this country today, we still [have] high levels of poverty, a long period of almost no growth in the median wage. You referred to the big rise in inequality, but also there's a diminished sense of mobility [and] opportunity across generations. And that's a very damaging thing. It is very important that we rediscover a capacity to try to deliver policies that do a better job of improving the chances the average person has coming out of school today.

You moved your family against their wishes to work for the President. How do you compensate them?
You can't do it. You lose all those years with them. You miss the most important part of their lives, and you deprive them of the right to privacy that most people seem to like. So it's a very hard thing to put on them.

Stocks are at a record high. How close are we to the next bubble?
Right now, today, that shouldn't rank very high on people's list of concerns for the country.

—BILL SAPORITO

Editor's note: Senior national correspondent Michael Grunwald collaborated with Geithner on *Stress Test* while on leave from TIME

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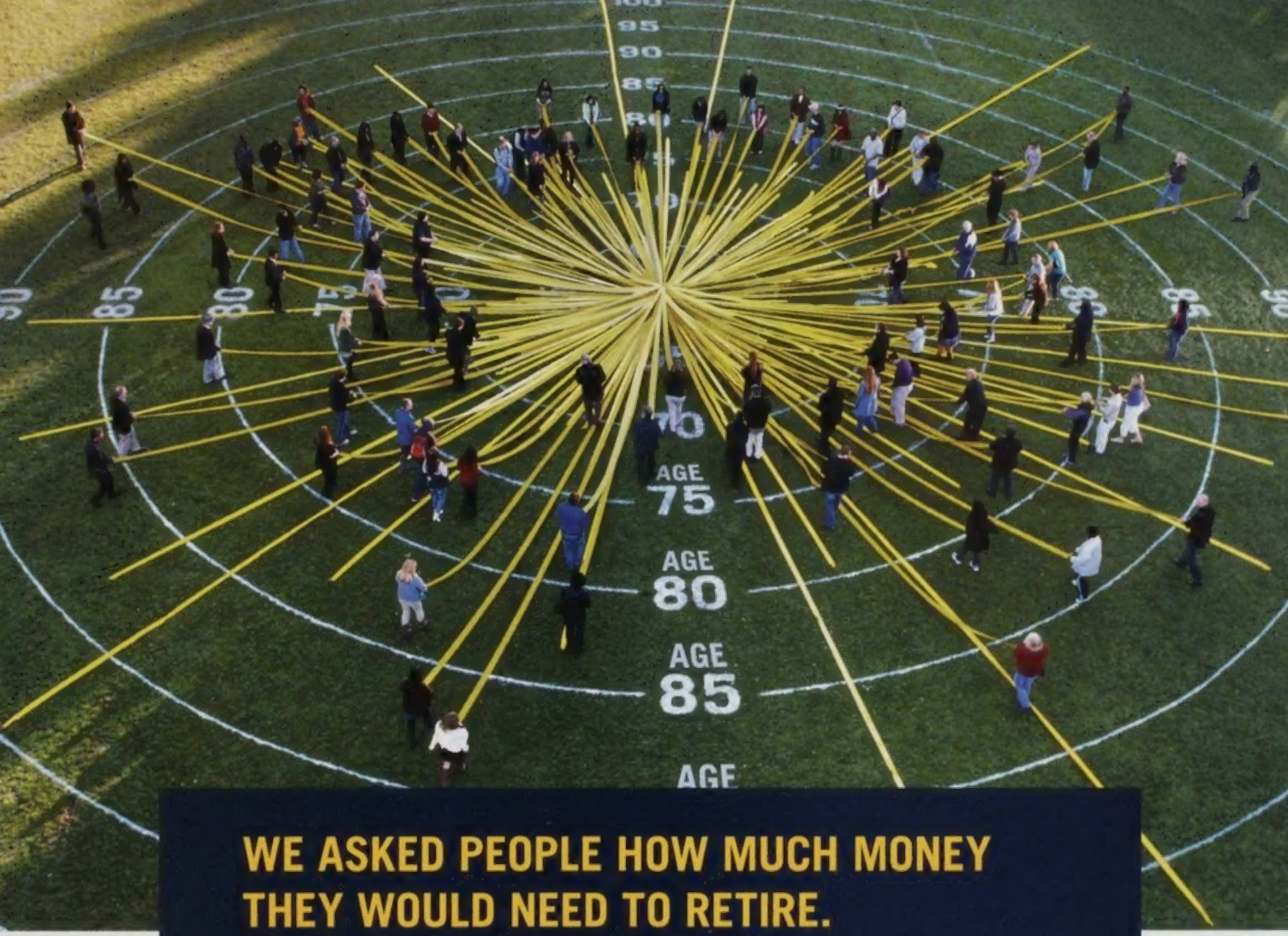

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